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IN THESE TIMES

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The setting of the *Sun-Times*?

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

When Australian newspaper tycoon Rupert Murdoch bought the Chicago *Sun-Times* last November, the paper's star columnist Mike Royko, whose hard-nosed humor reflects the mythical streetwise Chicago cynic, captured the feelings of most of his co-workers: no self-respecting fish would want to be wrapped in a Rupert Murdoch paper.

Last week Murdoch officially took over and Royko, despite the new publisher's threats of lawsuits for breach of contract, walked across the street to the *Tribune* after more than 20 years of working for its rivals. One sign of the famous newspaper wars of this city: Royko reportedly had never been in the *Tribune* tower before. Four top editors and business managers had quit the *Sun-Times* earlier, and a few other staff are moving to the *Trib*. If the jobs had been available, most of the rest of the staff would probably have walked, too.

In a few years Murdoch has made his mark on journalism here as he has both in his native country and in England with sensational headlines, heavy promotion, lurid and chaotic design, emphasis on "human interest" (sex, nudity, violence, weirdness, celebrities) and ultraconservative politics that often influences news coverage in a blatant way.

Murdoch is a tight-lipped, autocratic entrepreneur who built a small newspaper inheritance into a Hearst-style empire by cutting costs (often by attacking unions, eliminating expensive writers and laying off staff) and aggressively marketing newspapers that were financially troubled and thus up for sale, often cheap (he bought the *Boston Herald* for only \$7 million). Last week he was also bidding for near-majority control of Warner Communications, the big entertainment conglomerate.

It is easy to cast Murdoch as the heavy in the takeover of the *Sun-Times*, the eighth largest newspaper in the country. In recent years it had improved significantly and gained circulation under editor and then publisher James Hoge. But to many *Sun-Times* writers and other Murdoch-loathers, the arch-villain is the scion of a rich old Chicago department store family, Marshall Field, former owner of the *Sun-Times*.

"The real bad guy is that greedy, ball-less Marshall Field," said a *Sun-Times* reporter. "He's a man who killed one paper to save money [the afternoon *Daily News*] and put the future in question of another for no good reason. He let go of his birthright in the worst possible circumstances. This man was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and I hope he gags on it."

Royko, in his inimitable fashion, suggested that Marshall Field would go down in local history with Al Capone (later admitting that some people thought that was a slur on Capone).

Last spring Marshall Field announced that he and his brother Frederick "Ted" Field, a California playboy, wanted to find a reputable buyer for the *Sun-Times*, since Ted had tired of having his money tied up in a newspaper in which he had never taken an interest.

Six years ago the brothers shut down the *Daily News*, which was losing money. But the *Sun-Times*, formed out of the very old Chicago *Times* and the *Sun*, founded in 1941 as a pro-New Deal alternative to the then very conservative *Tribune* by the Fields' grandfather, was a money-maker even if it was the city's number two paper.

On weekdays the *Sun-Times* sold around 650,000 copies, beating the *Tribune* within the city limits but trailing it by 100,000 overall. On Sundays, however, the *Tribune* sold an extra 350,000 copies and the

Another group of investors, led by a local realty firm, made a subsequent offer in mid-December. They also thought they had an understanding with Field. They surpassed Murdoch's bid, and both Ted and Marshall agreed on December 18. Then, Marshall apparently talked with his attorney, former Federal Communications Commission director Newton Minow, who cautioned him that Murdoch might legally contest the sale. Although there are reports the new local group was willing to handle such legal costs, Marshall got cold feet—and close to another \$10 million from Murdoch.

"Marshall is worse [than Murdoch]," a *Sun-Times* reporter said, "because he was so duplicitous. There's a moral defect there in his leading people on and appearing a civic figure. He had no intention of selling to Hoge. Here he has a legacy, a community trust, and he violates it. The kid's defective, what can I say?"

Murdoch has done little to disturb the character of some publications he has taken over, such as the *Village Voice* and *New York* magazine, both of which were profitable before he bought them. There are some differences reflecting local markets and competition. The *Boston Herald* is a little more restrained than the *New York Post*.



Last week newspaper tycoon Rupert Murdoch took over the *SUN-TIMES*, leaving Chicagoans wondering if he will transform it into a *NEW YORK POST*-style daily.

On the day of the Grenada invasion, for example, the *Herald* simply bannered "Invasion!" while the *Post* screamed "Yanks Seize Terror Island" across the entire front page.

Yet some changes are inevitable. Murdoch has already made it known he wants a major change in format: shorter stories, bolder headlines (often in white-on-black reverse), narrower columns, an end to the compartmentalization of news (national, local, foreign, features, etc), less government and more politics, and "jazzier" stories in general. The format produces a "consciously frenetic, jumbled view of the world," one reporter complained. There will undoubtedly be even more promotions and Wingo, a bingo-like money giveaway game. And there will probably be lots of scantily clad women, more celebrity news and as much scandal as possible. Also, the unionized staff can expect Murdoch to reduce their numbers by attrition and fight them when their contract expires next year. They may be able to use their quality committee in the current contract to contest especially egregious changes. But if Murdoch does as he did elsewhere, he'll try to get young reporters cheap and have a high turnover.

Murdoch may move more slowly in Chicago, however, since the *Sun-Times* is already profitable and he has much to lose as well as to gain. With the *Post* and *Herald* he needed to boost circulation fast—and did so, even though both may still be losing money. Unlike the Fields, he may be willing to put money into new, improved printing presses. He may also face additional competition: some investors have been talking about starting a new, upscale paper to be called the *Evening Post*. Most ominously, Murdoch can be sure to bring his ultra-conservative brand of politics. The old *Sun-Times* bowed out on Sunday, January 9, with several editorial blasts at Reagan and at Rep. Tom Corcoran, who is running a far-right campaign against moderate conservative Sen. Charles Percy. The rumor is that Murdoch plans to make his first mark by endorsing Corcoran.

It is unclear where Murdoch will line up in Chicago's contentious local politics, but given Murdoch's well-known disregard for blacks, the takeover bodes ill for Mayor Harold Washington. In conversations with some *Sun-Times* employees, Murdoch has hinted that he sees his market among conservative, white, ethnic Catholics. Murdoch showed his willingness to use his news pages for editorial purposes when he boosted New York mayoral contender Ed Koch with continual front-page stories in the *Post* while ignoring his opposition.

A more scurrilous paper may well find an audience. "The public's appetite for shit has never shown any abatement," political consultant Don Rose lamented. But advertisers might shy away from what they perceive as sleazy. There's the apocryphal story of Murdoch meeting with large New York retailers and asking them why

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THE STORY

Sun-Times added only a few thousand. Worse, the *Tribune* beat the *Sun-Times* in ad lineage nearly two to one. But even with their moderate profit, knowledgeably estimated at 6 to 8 percent return on investment, the Field boys were hardly short of spending money.

None of the prestigious corporate newspaper conglomerates were interested in battling the *Tribune*, which has stagnated editorially in many ways despite its much larger staff and superior resources. But publisher Hoge managed to interest a large number of local business people and some *Sun-Times* executives in forming a consortium to buy out the Fields.

Some sources say that Marshall Field had assured Hoge that he would look kindly on their bid and even help with his own investment to meet competition and satisfy Ted. Specifically, he was reported to have said that Rupert Murdoch would not be a satisfactory buyer. But in the final hours of bidding at the end in October, Marshall Field was won over by Murdoch's offer of \$90 million. The Hoge group offered \$63 million, but that did not include purchase of the Field Syndicate (which probably could have been sold for \$20 million, since the *Boston Globe* was willing to put up \$10 million for half of it). After taxes, then, the Murdoch bid only brought each brother a couple of million dollars extra. Many Chicagoans—like the largely liberal-to-moderate business people who had wanted to preserve the *Sun-Times* as a middle-of-the-road, professionally edited paper—were outraged that Field would turn over the *Sun-Times* to the man who had re-established a new standard of sleaze in American journalism with the *New York Post*.

Kissinger comes through for Reagan

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

HAVING FAILED TO WIN CONGRESSIONAL support for the MX missile and reductions in Social Security, the Reagan administration hit upon a brilliant ploy: appoint a bipartisan commission that will make the same proposals and then fight for their passage. Having succeeded with the MX and Social Security, the administration decided to try again—at the urging of the late Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), Rep. Jack Kemp (R-N.Y.) and Rep. Michael Barnes (D-Md.)—and in July appointed a 12-member Commission on Central America, chaired by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Reagan hoped that the Commission would provide a bipartisan rationale for the administration's strategy of defeating the leftist rebels in El Salvador, overthrowing or crippling the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and propping up military regimes in Honduras and Guatemala.

The Kissinger report, which was released January 11, may not accomplish everything the administration wanted. The report's proposals, unlike those of the MX and Social Security commissions, were not unanimous. San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros and Yale political scientist Carlos F. Diaz-Alejandro filed dissents on the Commission's recommendation that covert aid to the Nicaraguan rebels be continued. And Kissinger, Boston University President John Silber and former New Jersey official Nicholas Brady, representing the administration's position, filed dissents on the Commission's recommendation that further military aid to El Salvador and Guatemala be conditioned on those country's improving their human rights record.

But the report may well prove useful to the administration. With the backing of such Democrats as Barnes, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland and Robert S. Strauss, it provides a rationale for doubling American military and economic aid to the region and committing the U.S. to defeating El Salvador's left-wing rebels.

Democracy and security.

The report argues that what it calls the "crisis in Central America" threatens American interests. These interests break down into, first, the American commitment to "improve the living conditions of the people" and to "advance the cause of democracy" and, second, the American commitment to "prevent hostile forces [i.e., the Soviet Union and Cuba] from seizing and expanding control in a strategically vital area of the Western hemisphere."

The report asserts that the Nicaraguan government and the Salvadoran rebels are a threat to the first kind of interests because they are "totalitarians" and a threat to the second because they are both "tied" to the Soviet Union and Cuba.

It is impossible to take seriously the report's claim that the "advance of democracy" is a vital American interest in the region. Its assertion that only in Nicaragua is democracy not "becoming the rule" is ludicrous. But as evidence the report cites the election of El Salvador's and Honduras' governments and the Guatemalan military regime's promise of elections in 1985, even though state power is exercised by the military in these countries no matter who wins elections. In Honduras and El Salvador, the real head of state has often been the defense minister.

If the Kissinger Commission had been seriously committed to advancing demo-

cracy, it probably would have had to declare the governments of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras as great a threat to American interests as the Sandinista government, which, after all, also has promised elections.

The report's more serious claim is that American military security is threatened by the Sandinista and the Salvadoran rebels. It rests on two assumptions: first,

The report is on fairly firm ground in asserting a military alliance of the Sandinistas with the Cubans and Russians. But it does not explore the basis of that alliance and whether it could be limited by American policies other than support for counterrevolutionaries. (The report's history of U.S.-Central American relations is revealing on this point. The Sandinistas would point out that their preference for the Soviet bloc is based upon 15 years of American intervention in their country, but the report claims that the repeated American interventions and invasions, beginning in 1909, were attempts at "promoting the stability and solvency" of Nicaragua.)

Commission members, who interviewed the Nicaraguan *contras* but not the

rather than foot patrols.

To channel economic aid to the region, it proposes institutions modeled upon the Marshall Plan and the European Common Market. The Marshall Plan was intended to assist centrist and conservative parties in Western Europe and to isolate the Soviet Union, as well as to facilitate the economic recovery of Western Europe. The Commission's economic proposals have similar motives attached to them.

The report says that Nicaragua would be invited to join the Central American Development Organization (CADO) if it agreed to adhere to certain political conditions. If Nicaragua could not "commit itself to permit elections and guarantee human rights and thus failed to join CA-



that the Sandinistas and Salvadoran guerrillas are allied militarily to the Soviet Union and Cuba to the extent that they would aid the Soviet bloc in the event of a war with the U.S.; second, that their potential participation in such a war constitutes a sufficient threat to American security to justify American intervention.

The report shows no understanding of why indigenous reformers in Central America become revolutionaries and eventually look to Cuba or the USSR for aid.

Salvadoran rebels, do not adduce any evidence for a link between the Salvadoran movement and the Soviet bloc similar to that between the Nicaraguans and the Soviet bloc. According to Robert Leiken of the Carnegie Endowment, who has studied the guerrilla movement, they are divided in their loyalty to the Soviet Union and Cuba.

The report contends that "the advance of Soviet and Cuban power on the American [note the clever omission of 'Central'] mainland affects the global balance" by allowing the Soviet Union to tie up shipping lanes in the Caribbean in the event of a war with the U.S. But it fails to show why the Soviet Union is not already in a position to do this through its alliance with Cuba.

Marshall Plan.

To meet these alleged threats to American interests and security, the Kissinger Commission proposes a doubling of the projected levels of military and economic aid next year and for 1985-89. Echoing the arguments for the Kennedy administration's Alliance for Progress, the Commission warns that "unless progress can be made on the political, economic and social fronts, peace on the military fronts will be elusive and would be fragile."

The report rejects proposals for "power-sharing" negotiations between the Salvadoran government and the rebels and calls upon the rebels to participate in elections. Given the nature of state power in El Salvador, such a proposal is tantamount to calling upon the guerrillas to surrender. Similarly, the report rejects "static containment" of the Sandinistas in favor of military "incentives" and negotiations, with the use of military troops as a "last resort."

The report proposes granting the Salvadoran military enough money to conduct "enlightened counterinsurgency operations"—meaning using helicopters

DO, it would not, in our judgment, affect the ultimate effectiveness of the organization," the report states.

It does not indicate whether Guatemala or Honduras would be excluded from CADO in the event of a military coup there, but one can imagine what the Reagan administration would do.

The report also insists that the private sector, rather than the government, should set economic priorities in the nations of the region. To use economic aid successfully, the report says, governments must provide "appropriate incentives and eliminate roadblocks rather than trying to make themselves the engine of growth."

It is not just Marxist-Leninist Soviet-allied totalitarianism that concerns the Commission, but also the creation of "improved investment conditions." It notes that the Central American governments could follow the model of Hong Kong and Singapore and become "important production centers of low- and medium-technology goods to be exported to the U.S., the rest of Latin America and Europe."

Of course, in another part of the report, the commissioners acknowledge that the countries' export-dependent economies made them particularly vulnerable to the world recessions of the '70s and '80s.

Why it wouldn't work.

The most telling objections to these proposals have been made in a rival report, *Central America: Anatomy of Conflict*, edited by Robert Leiken of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace. The scholars and former government officials assembled by Carnegie offer convincing arguments why the Kissinger Commission's Marshall Plan will not work now in Central America.

As historian Walter LaFeber notes in a survey of U.S.-Central American rela-

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IN SHORT

Immigration battles

In early December, 15 groups concerned with immigrant rights—including the National Lawyers' Guild, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Workers and the National Center for Immigrants' Rights—filed a lawsuit in Los Angeles U.S. District Court to put a stop to a "no work" rider being used by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to harass undocumented immigrants who have been arrested because of their illegal status. INS' new regulation forbids released immigrants to work while waiting for the outcome of their deportation hearings—a process that often takes several months. Aurora Schmidt of AFSC notes that the rider presents a Catch-22 for undocumented workers: "While immigrants have to prove that they are stable and self-reliant to gain legal status, this takes away their opportunity to provide for themselves." Even worse than unemployment, many immigrants face the prospect of indefinite custody because of the difficulty of getting bail bonds for people who aren't allowed to work.

Besides the personal financial and emotional costs to immigrants, Schmidt points out that the INS may be placing an unforeseen burden on the American economy in its attempt to "open up" the economy for U.S. workers. Immigrants, afraid of the likelihood of unemployment, may not even make an effort to be released on bond and the public may end up footing their custody bills. Legal residents who are dependents of jailed immigrants may be forced to resort to public assistance.

Non-returnable Salvadorans?

And on the legislative front, Harvy Lipman reports that a bipartisan group of Congress members hope to change U.S. policy toward Salvadoran refugees when Congress reconvenes this month. Massachusetts Rep. Joe Moakley and Arizona Sen. Dennis DeConcini, both Democrats, have announced they will introduce a bill banning any deportations of Salvadorans for the next three years. The bills would also require the Reagan administration to do a new study of what happens to Salvadorans when they're sent home.

Rep. Dick Ottinger (D-N.Y.), one of the bill's cosponsors, says the measure only asks the administration to "take cognizance" of the terrible situation in El Salvador, and do what Canada and other nations in this hemisphere have: grant the Salvadorans special protected status. But the State Department refuses to acknowledge that Salvadorans are refugees, instead calling them "economic migrants." In fact, the State Department's Burke says the legislation could be unconstitutional because the granting of "extended voluntary departure"—the legal term for letting the Salvadorans stay—is a discretionary power of the executive branch.

"Right to slave"

In late December, service workers at the Beverly Manor Nursing Home in Charlotte, N.C., joined three other Beverly Enterprise Corporation nursing homes in Charlotte with a 56-20 vote for the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). Beverly Enterprise has seen union organizing pick up steam in the past year, despite the "right to work" laws that outlaw closed shops in many of the Southern states where Beverly operates nursing homes. The law is commonly referred to as the "right to work for less" law by Beverly employees, who receive the minimum wage (\$3.35/hour) while Beverly Enterprises continues its rapid growth (\$26 million in profits for 1982).

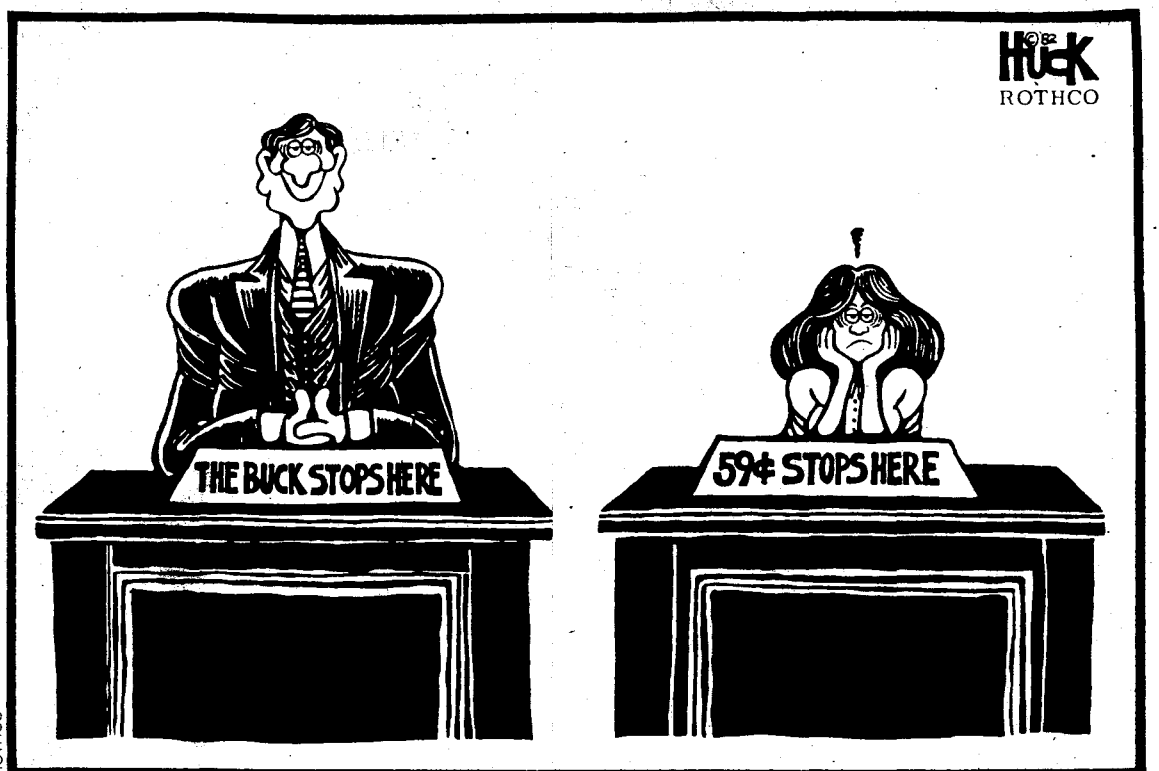
Vanishing act

White House Counselor Edwin Meese seems to think it doesn't exist, a 13-member presidential task force says it can't be objectively measured, yet millions of Americans experience it daily. What is this thing called hunger? Meese's well-reported statement ("I don't know of any authoritative figures that there are hungry children. I've heard a lot of anecdotal stuff, but I haven't heard any authoritative figures") was given last week the official stamp of approval by the Task Force on Food Assistance: it is at present "impossible to estimate the extent of hunger with any reasonable degree of objectivity." Not so, says Robert Greenstein, the director of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, an independent research group that has compiled and analyzed "authoritative figures" on hunger from various medical centers, government studies and independent research. *In These Times* will soon report on these findings and responses to the hunger issue.

If Socrates is a man...

In a recent 1984 prediction proving that women, too, can sometimes be illogical, Phyllis Schlafly posits the following argument for keeping women out of politics: "Any politician who thinks he will get the women's vote by putting a woman on the ticket is really living in some kind of dream world. All you have to do is ask the NOW women if they would support me."

—Beth Maschinot



Comparable worth in Washington: She worked hard for less money

WASHINGTON—A federal district judge gave 15,000 state of Washington employees, most of them female, a half-billion dollar Christmas present last month. The result of a class action filed by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in 1981, the award followed Judge Jack E. Tanner's September decision that paying different wages for jobs of equal value is a clear violation of Title VII's prohibition against sex discrimination (*In These Times*, Sept. 28, 1983).

The court ordered that pay raises be given immediately to all those in state job classifications that are at least 70 percent female, and that back pay be computed from September 1979 (the maximum possible under Title VII). Judge Tanner rejected the state's assertion that this would impose a crushing burden on a deficit budget, pointing out that the state had failed to correct the discrimination when it had a budget surplus a few years before: "Defendants' preoccupation with its budget constraints pales when compared with the invidiousness of the impact ongoing discrimination has upon the Plaintiffs...."

Judge Tanner based his decision largely on the state of Washington's own studies that showed those in predominantly female jobs receive about 32 percent less pay than those in equivalent jobs that are predominantly male. In 1974 a professional consulting firm was commissioned to evaluate 121 job classes on the basis of four factors: knowledge and skills, mental demands, responsibility and working conditions. The study revealed that when jobs receiving equal numbers of points were compared, those held primarily by women received an average of about \$175 less per month, or \$2,100 per year. Updates in 1976, 1979 and 1980 confirmed the research findings.

In December 1976, just prior to the end of his third term, Gov. Dan Evans included \$7 million in his budget proposal to begin "correction of disparities." His successor, Gov. Dixy Lee Ray,

deleted the appropriation even though there was a surplus that year. Repeated failures by the legislature to implement comparable worth, and a legal prohibition against bargaining by state employees over wages, led to the AFSCME suit.

Although Washington is expected to appeal, AFSCME plans several more suits. Eighteen states have finished or are

completing job evaluation studies similar to the Washington survey. Four—California, Minnesota, Washington and Iowa—have amended their civil service laws to require pay equity. In Minnesota appropriations of \$21.7 million have been made to correct pay inequities as the first step of a four-year plan expected to cost 4 percent of the annual state payroll. —Jo Freeman

Tenants movement picks up steam with rent control victory in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO—With targeted political mailings and aggressive election-year lobbying, San Francisco tenants groups won a rare victory January 9 as the Board of Supervisors approved two ordinances strengthening the city's rent control laws.

The ordinances, one lowering the rent-hike limit from 7 to 4 percent, the other imposing rent controls on vacant apartments, had been proposed as a single measure by Supervisor Harry Britt (*In These Times*, Dec. 14, 1983). Landlord groups and their supervisor supporters had managed to separate the pair, hoping to defeat the more controversial vacancy control while tolerating approval of the rent-hike reduction allowing supervisors a pro-tenant vote in this fractious election year.

But surprise support from normally anti-rent control Supervisor Quentin Kopp assured the passage of the vacancy control law. Commented tenant strategist Mitchell Omerberg: "Nobody wants to vote to Kopp's right." Vacancy control passed 7-3; the rent-hike limit 9-1.

The measures will help to slow the spiral of rising housing costs in San Francisco, where the California growth syndrome is squeezing out low and middle-income tenants all over the city. But the victories may be more important in marking the emergence of a powerful tenants movement, one politicians now believe they must reckon with at

election time.

That's largely the result of work by the Affordable Housing Alliance, a coalition of tenants groups involving Chinatown parishes and associations in multi-unit, upscale apartment complexes. The alliance has given tenants visibility, rating each supervisor's record on renters' issues in mailings to tenants in his or her district. During the vacancy control campaign, targeted mailings informed voting renters that the rent hike limit alone would not stop the city's rapid rent increases; a vote for the limit and not vacancy controls was not a vote for tenants.

One obstacle remains to writing the ordinances into law: Mayor Dianne Feinstein's veto. The landlord-allied mayor has vetoed vacancy control before, although the strong support for the measure makes it likely the veto could be overridden. The supervisors will meet again to consider the ordinances, and Britt hopes he can pick up another vote for vacancy control by then, insuring a veto override.

"I'd be more comfortable with one more vote," Britt said. But even without it he believes Feinstein might withhold her veto. "Our tenant movement has really become unbelievable. It's in the mayor's interest to let this through—it would purchase a fair amount of peace between landlords and tenants."

—Joan Walsh

By David Rubenstein

MINNEAPOLIS

WHEN THE CITY COUNCIL here was considering yet another zoning ordinance to attempt to rid the neighborhoods of pornography storefronts last fall, some neighborhood residents asked feminist authors Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon to testify at the hearing.

But instead of supporting the ordinance, the two testified against it and proposed their own method for eliminating pornography: an ordinance defining it as a form of sex discrimination that violates the civil rights of women. Intrigued, the Council asked the pair to draft such a law, and neighborhood groups didn't seem to mind the change in strategy. But members of the city's liberal community are finding themselves on different sides of this long-divisive issue.

The ordinance—actually an amendment to the city's existing civil rights ordinance—would allow individuals to enter civil suits against pornography traffickers, who could become liable for damages and/or a civil injunction barring further sale or display of the material. It was passed December 30 by a 7-6 vote, but it was vetoed on January 5 by Mayor Don Fraser, who said he sympathized with the bill's intent but believed it conflicted with the First Amendment guarantee of free speech.

The issue has not gone away. Some ordinance supporters say they will work to override the mayor's veto; to do so, they will need nine votes. Others are considering a compromise ordinance.

The issue brings together an unusual collection of actors and factions, and it raises basic questions of sexual politics, civil liberties, the definition of pornography and its relation to women's condition.

Lake Street in south Minneapolis is where the issue erupted. With its bars, prostitutes, fast food joints, car-part and gourmet food stores as well as a Christian Science reading room, Lake Street has a little of everything, including most of the Minneapolis adult bookstore and movie business. And Friday night is cruising night on the street.

On the night of Friday, December 2, drivers on Lake Street were surprised to find a crowd gathered outside the adult bookstore and theater at the intersection of Lake Street and Chicago Avenue. One lane of Lake was barricaded by police, and a pickup truck was backed up to the curb, not 10 yards from the marquee of the Rialto, where the porn films *Scoundrels* and *Babylon Gold* were playing. Hundreds of women and quite a few men were demonstrating. Some carried placards with such slogans as "Your fantasies are our nightmares."

Standing on the bed of the pickup talking into a microphone was Dworkin, author of the book *Pornography: Men Possessing Women* and many other books and articles on sexual politics. Dworkin had come to Minneapolis to be a visiting professor at the University of Minnesota. Together with MacKinnon, an associate professor at the university's law school, she was teaching a course on pornography to about 50 students; some of whom had organized the demonstration.

It was not held just to protest pornography. It was also the beginning of the campaign to pass the anti-pornography ordinance Dworkin and MacKinnon had written.

Dworkin told the crowd: "Pornography...is systematic exploitation. It is the abuse of a whole class of people.... I say that this is not speech. I say that these stores are silence. This is what the silencing of a group of people because of their birth looks like."

The speech drew on a feminist analysis of pornography that Dworkin and others had developed over many years. What was new was that on this night, when Dworkin used terms like "silence," "speech" and "the abuse of a class of people," they were no longer only analytical, they were also legal terms. The sub-

ject was a real ordinance, a real proposition before a real governmental body. And it was being taken seriously.

Dworkin ended her speech by proclaiming, "We are going to fight these parasites, we are going to fight these pimps, and I want to tell them we are going to win!"

Civil rights tradition.

Dworkin might not have had reason for confidence in other cities, but this was Minneapolis, and there were precedents. As one alderman would recall when the vote on this civil rights ordinance finally came on December 30, it was Minneapolis politician Hubert Humphrey who had shaken the 1948 Democratic convention with his civil rights plan. And there was a tradition that went further back than that, and deeper, to the '30s and the Teamsters strike and socialist mayor Floyd D. Olson. If the idea for this ordinance was a seed, it had landed on fertile ground.

The civil rights approach is a new way of approaching pornography. Currently, pornography can be attacked legally in either of two ways. First, there are criminal obscenity laws, based on a definition provided by the Supreme Court in *Miller vs. California* in 1973. Details and the enforcement of obscenity laws are left up to local jurisdiction. In most places, the laws are simply not enforced.

The second approach is through zon-

ing, which said that a woman who confronted pornography and felt her rights had been violated could sue. In an interview, the two authors pointed out that pornography has saturated the marketplace, from gas stations to the corner grocery.

"What it amounts to," Dworkin explained to the interviewer, "is that you and I go into a supermarket to buy a dozen eggs. My rights as a citizen are violated because those magazines show me as an object, degraded victim, in fact subordinate to me when I am in the supermarket. They change my civil status and make it different from yours, because you're a man and I'm a woman. You're not allowed to do that. That's what civil rights is all about."

Objections to the ordinance involved questions of definition. Pornography was defined in the ordinance as "the sexually explicit subordination of women, graphically depicted." Then there were nine additional characteristics, and at least one had to be present in addition to the main one of subordination. These nine included scenarios involving mutilation, torture or injury "in a context that makes these things sexual." Also included were scenarios that portray rape as enjoyable, and those that portray women as "objects" or "commodities" or "whores by nature." There was a wide variety of offending elements. Some involved violence and some didn't.

Pornography law splits Minneapolis

CIVIL RIGHTS



Feminist authors Catherine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin wrote the ordinance, which was vetoed by the mayor.

ing laws that can be used to limit the area in which certain kinds of pornography can be sold or displayed. But the courts have ruled that zoning regulations must not be so strict that they constitute a *de facto* ban, and in Minneapolis, an attempt to tighten zoning regulations was struck down for that very reason a few years ago.

The controversy.

Most of the controversy that erupted when the proposed ordinance was made public centered on its "trafficking" sec-

Civil libertarians challenged the ordinance immediately. "What is subordination?" asked a spokeswoman from the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union. "Supporters of this bill may have a very clear idea of what constitutes subordination, but there are all kinds of people in this world, all kinds of viewpoints."

The Minnesota Civil Liberties Union vowed to fight the ordinance all the way to the Supreme Court.

Hearings on the bill were held December 12 and 13 in the City Council chambers. Linda Marchiano, who under the

name Linda Lovelace starred in the movie *Deep Throat*, testified, saying she was a prisoner for a two-year period during the time the film was made. (Part of the ordinance dealt with the coercion of women into pornographic performance.) Many counselors to sex offenders and abused children testified that pornography is usually involved in child abuse. Women testified about rape and abusive relationships in which pornography was involved. An experimental psychologist testified that laboratory evidence showed exposure to violent pornography makes even "normal, healthy college men" more tolerant of rape and less likely to convict a rapist if they are seated on a jury.

The hearings were more than a spectacular lobbying ploy. They were part of a legal strategy to lay groundwork for a constitutional claim. MacKinnon, an acknowledged expert on sex discrimination law (her book *Sexual Harassment of Working Women* has been quoted in federal court cases) made the basic constitutional argument before the hearings began.

She pointed out that freedom of speech is not an absolute. Child pornography laws and sexual harassment laws are only two areas where the courts have ruled that one person's free speech, guaranteed by the First Amendment, could interfere with another person's right to equal protection under the law, guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The hearings were an attempt to give substance to the claim that pornography harms women. (In the final draft, the ordinance was amended to include men as well.) In constitutional terms, the argument is that the "free speech" or pornography must be balanced against the interference with "equal protection under the law" that the pornography allegedly entails.

Opponents of the ordinance would later claim that the hearings had been orchestrated, that ordinance opponents were cut short, put at the end of the list and interrupted. The hearings were in fact conducted by a Council member who sponsored the ordinance, and by Dworkin and MacKinnon. They asked the questions and drew out the witnesses, and it all happened before a crowd of partisans. One young man weathered the storm as he challenged what he considered to be the sexist bias of the whole con-

Continued on page 6

Murdoch

Continued from page 2

they did not advertise in his growing *New York Post*. The Bloomingdale representative reportedly replied, "Mr. Murdoch, your readers are our shoplifters."

Old right-wing *Tribune* owner Col. Robert McCormick would never believe it, but the Trib will now be Chicago's "liberal" paper. Actually, both papers had converged over the years toward an establishment middle-road politics and a general commitment to less openly partisan and ideological news reporting. Murdoch is a throwback to an older era of American journalism, the more personal, less corporate newspaper tycoon with a desire to wield his individual influence as well as make a fortune. But the behavior of Marshall Field, who has long pretended to be a civic servant, makes it clear that old wealth is little more protection for journalism than new wealth. The profit motive giveth, and the profit motive taketh away. ■

Report

Continued from page 3

tions, past aid programs, like the Alliance for Progress, have increased overall growth rates, but because the aid was filtered through these countries' inequitable and archaic class structures the growth resulted in the enrichment of elites and the continued impoverishment of most Central Americans. As a result, these aid programs created political instability and led to the formation of revolutionary movements.

LaFeber concludes, "No major U.S. aid plan can sufficiently improve economic conditions and deal with the structural political problems until govern-

ments attain power that have no interest in maintaining the *status quo*. That conclusion rules out those traditional civilian elites and their military cohorts who have long worked with the U.S. in helping to bring about the present crisis."

The Kissinger Commission report has some commendable statements in it. It acknowledges the presence of grating poverty and almost universal illiteracy (except in Nicaragua) in Central America, and admits that in the distant past American companies may have created a "fear of 'economic imperialism.'" It even states repeatedly that "indigenous reform, even indigenous revolution, is not a security threat to the U.S."

But it does not show the slightest understanding of why "indigenous reformers" like Guillermo Ungo of El Salvador become revolutionaries and eventually—if they are serious about winning—look to Cuba and the Soviet Union for aid. With all its proposals for fancy new intergovernmental institutions and for all its rhetoric of democracy, the Kissinger report is little more than an attempt to win support for the Reagan administration's effort to prop up the worst aspects of the Central American *status quo*.

The Democrats who served on the Commission may have performed a useful function in preventing unanimous support for the Reagan administration's covert aid policies and in repudiating the administration's stand on aid and human rights. But they also gave their names to a vindication of the heart of Reagan's foreign policy, which is based on viewing whatever untoward happens in the world as a manifestation of East-West rivalry.

One might wonder what Lane Kirkland was thinking when he read the passage about Central American nations becoming like Hong Kong and Singapore. Maybe he was too worried about the laid-off steelworkers to care about a paragraph here or there. Or maybe he was thinking that his unions can move down to San Salvador once the guerrillas get cleared out and American companies can begin to set up shop there. ■

Porn

Continued from page 5

cept. "If women have a right not to be portrayed as whores by nature," he said, "then men have a right not to be portrayed as rapists by nature."

But as the political battle continued, the most damaging attacks on the ordinance came from women—women who said they were feminists. During the hearings, a woman who worked in a bookstore said she sold lots of "category romances," a type of formula paperback that often contains explicit sex involving heroines who are "subordinated." She said these books are bought mostly by women, and she wondered if she would have to read each one and purge her shelves. How far did the ordinance go? That was the big question.

The scientific evidence that ordinance supporters had marshalled was countered by statements from Dr. Sharon Satterfield, who directs the Human Sexuality Program at the University of Minnesota Medical School.

The day of the vote, Council member Kathy O'Brien, one of three women on the Council to vote against the ordinance, said, "I am afraid that the courts will look at the definition using 'subordination of women' and throw the ordinance out of the park.... The status of women is better in open societies than in closed, restricted ones."

A second Council member gave a speech before packed chambers and the network TV cameras, publicly revealing for the first time that she had been raped at the age of 19. The cause, she said, was alcohol, not pornography, and she voted against the ordinance.

After the ordinance passed, Mayor Fraser had five days to veto, or let it pass. During this period, opponents of the bill began to lobby in earnest for the first time. Opposition came not from "porn kings," as some had expected, but from the newspaper, publishing and book industries and from people in the arts.

The Minnesota Newspaper Association, which includes practically every newspaper in the state, urged a veto. So did a woman and a man, "just writers," who kept vigil outside the mayor's office, alongside ordinance supporters. A national organization called the Media Coalition, which includes the Association of American Publishers and the American Booksellers Association, also lobbied for a veto. But then came a call from *Ms.* magazine editor Gloria Steinem, who urged Fraser to let the bill pass.

Too broad a definition.

In the end, the mayor—a liberal who once said he thought President Reagan's refusal to quit financing covert activities

against Nicaragua might be an impeachable offense—said he had to veto the ordinance because of his concern for freedom of speech. It was censorship, though it would use the machinery of civil rights law, he said. The definition of pornography in the ordinance was "so broad as to make it impossible for a bookseller, movie-theater operator or museum director to adjust his or her conduct in order to keep from running afoul of its prescriptions," he said.

The mayor suggested a revised definition, one that would be consistent with the Supreme Court's definition of obscenity. But clearly, that is not what the ordinance supporters have in mind. MacKinnon insists that obscenity is a narrow, irrelevant "moral" concept, while subordination refers to the real harm that pornography does. Pornography has a direct causal link to violence against women, she maintains. It degrades and subordinates women, and helps create a context in which women cannot achieve equal rights.

With the new year, five new Council members were seated. One of them, Sharon Sayles Belton, is the new representative from the Lake Street neighborhood where the December 2 demonstration was held. In fact she spoke at it, along with Dworkin. Belton is young, black and has a special interest in the subject of sexual abuse: she has been working with the State Sexual Assault program for 10 years and was president of the National Coalition Against Sexual Assault. She has received calls from around the country on the ordinance. She says, "People are overwhelmingly pleased that we are involved in these discussions. That's ground one: a governmental unit is talking about this problem."

It is hard to predict the next stage in this battle. Charlee Hoyt, a Republican who was one of the original sponsors of the ordinance, has vowed to work for an override. But as the new Council begins, it is clear she does not have nine votes.

Hoyt has told reporters that her initial strategy will be to work for a delay, to gain time to win over some of the new Council members. But the rules specify the veto will stand unless an override comes within a "reasonable time." No one is sure exactly how long that is, but it's weeks, not months.

Meanwhile, no one is likely to offer a new ordinance until the matter of the override is settled. Some Council members have discussed forming a pornography task force to deal with the issue. Ordinance supporters are moving into an "education" phase, and will try to keep the matter before the public. They shouldn't have much trouble accomplishing that. ■

David Rubenstein has covered the Minneapolis pornography ordinance issue for the *New York Times* and *Pacific News Service*.

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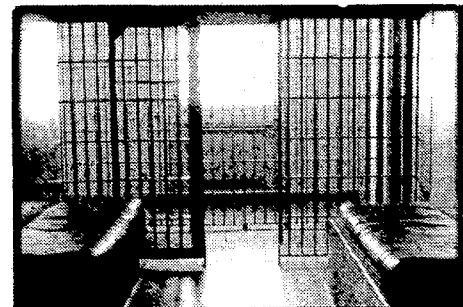
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November

- 6
- 1945—HUAC begins an investigation of seven radio commentators. HUAC spokesperson: "The time has come to determine how far you can go with free speech."
 - 1968—At an RMN victory party, advance man J. Roy Goodearle: "Why don't we get all the members of the press and beat them up? I'm tired of being nice to them."
 - 1976—Disclosure of Operation Shamrock: since 1947, RCA Global, ITT World and Western Union International have made international telegraph traffic available to the NSA.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

IF 1983 STANDS AS THE YEAR Europeans were bullied into accepting nuclear missile "protection" they didn't want, 1984 could be the year they are dragged into a war "to protect their oil" in the Persian-Arabian Gulf—a war most Europeans would surely reject as both unnecessary and dangerous, if asked.

The looming Gulf war seems a chief explanation for the Reagan administration's stubborn insistence on deploying the Euromissiles at the end of 1983. Once in place, the missiles effectively bind reluctant allies to U.S. global strategy, while adding teeth to the U.S. warning to the Soviet Union not to interfere.

Europeans are wondering what secret deal lies behind the strategic alliance and generous handout Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir took home from his early December trip to Washington. More than \$2 billion in grants—not credits—of military and economic aid seems an excessively high price to pay for "the Jewish vote," even in an election year. Nor was the politically weak Shamir, his country on the verge of bankruptcy, in any position to drive a hard bargain.

A logical theory is that the Israeli-U.S. strategic alliance involves an eventual attempt to take control of at least some of the Gulf oil fields, once Iraq and Iran have further exhausted each other in their interminable war. The takeover would likely be justified by the need to stamp out "international terrorism" of the Ayatollah Khomeini, Islamic extremist variety, which has already struck American and French targets in Lebanon and Kuwait. This goal has great emotional appeal in the West. A more concrete objective could be to provide Israel with a more steady source of income than American handouts. Gen. Ariel Sharon is known to aspire to eventual Israeli control of Kuwait, a prize well worth some political concessions to Palestinians: a homeland in Jordan, perhaps, or in a piece of Syria.

Concessions to Palestinians could contribute to the project because Palestinians play a key role in Kuwait and other oil states. Their many communities are technically competent and politically aware and they have always lobbied against Israel.

But the Palestinians' desperate plight after the Israeli invasion of Beirut has changed the mood in the Palestinian diaspora. The Arab states did nothing to save PLO leader Yassir Arafat's forces in Beirut, did nothing to prevent the Beirut massacres in Sabra and Shatila. Then in late 1983, Syria relentlessly drove Arafat out of northern Lebanon. As a result, many Palestinians—and other ordinary Arabs—are more bitterly resentful of

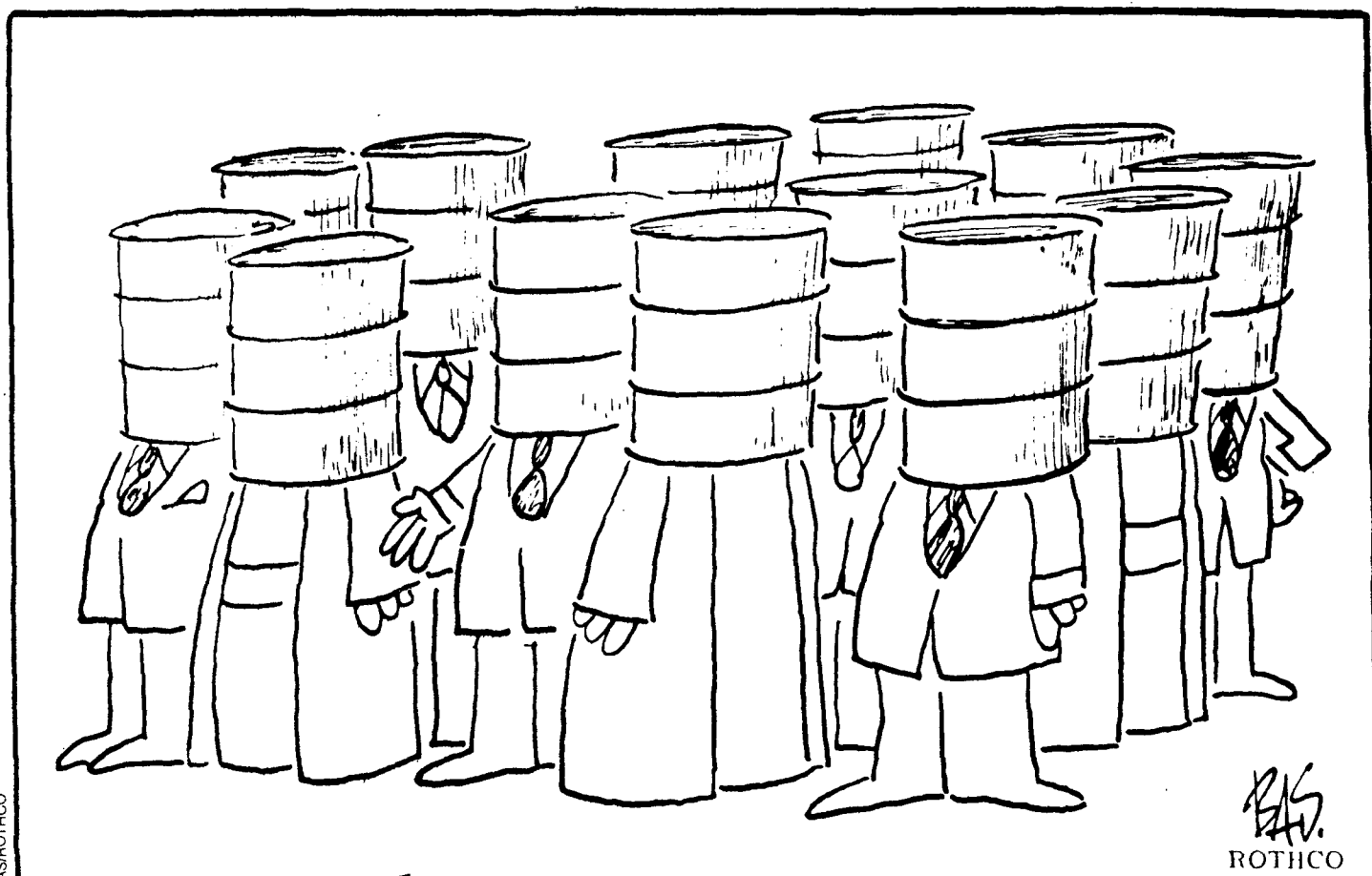
Italians are not eager to be dragged into wild schemes to redesign Mideast geopolitics.

Arab rulers, their treacherous "brothers," than of Israelis, the familiar declared enemy.

Some of this emotion can swell the ranks of Islamic fundamentalism, but that is a poor solution for the more well-to-do, educated Palestinians. Their despair is a force that could be ripe for capture.

Reagan's new National Security Advisor Robert C. McFarlane is reputed to have "complicated" Mideast views. One such complicated plan could include enlisting some remnant of Arafat's Palestinian loyalists in an American grand design, now that they have been thoroughly betrayed by the Arab world and see that they have nowhere else to turn.

In a recent article in the *Washington*



EUROPE

After the missiles, allies face U.S. designs on the Gulf

Post, Claire Sterling, known for her access to "Western intelligence sources," virtually suggested a *de facto* Palestinian-Israeli alliance against Iran and Syria. The reason would be the need for mutual self-defense against a most "terrifying" common enemy, "the Moslem suicide squads calling themselves Islamic Jihad (Holy War)" in the service of the Ayatollah Khomeini, who "has lent some of them to President Hafez al Assad of Syria."

Sterling said the "most obvious" defense course would be to "pool the intelligence resources of all the governments and political forces that are now or may soon be threatened by the suicide gangs." These include Turkey, Israel, Iraq, Pakistan or "practically everyone in the Palestine resistance who opposes annexation by Syria, and everyone in Lebanon with the faintest hope of preserving a semblance of state sovereignty—not to mention France, Britain, Italy and the legions of Iranians in exile...."

Sterling also wrote that "there is reason to believe that the U.S. and Israel may have made substantial if subterranean efforts to placate Ayatollah Khomeini by helping to supply weapons to his war with Iraq." The notion that secret U.S.-Israeli arming of Iran was intended to "placate" Khomeini is disingenuous and unconvincing. In reality, the Western powers have kept the Iran-Iraq war dragging on by arming both sides, with the French playing the main role in arming Iraq, while the Israeli-Americans ran guns to Iran. The obvious purpose of such an activity is to be found in its concrete result: many killed on both sides. The two rival local powers vying for control of the Gulf are wearing themselves out in a war that Iraq, it may be recalled, was encouraged to initiate by the weaker Western-oriented Gulf states.

What about the Russians? On a visit to India in December 1980, Leonid Brezhnev proposed an agreement between the USSR, the West, China, Japan and the Gulf states to guarantee free access to Gulf oil. The proposal called for no nuclear or other mass destruction weapons or foreign military bases in the Gulf or adjacent islands; respect for nonalign-

ment; respect for rights of states to their natural resources; no threats of force or intervention; free trade and unimpeded use of sea lanes. Only Kuwait expressed interest.

The disadvantage of such an agreement is that it would remove any pretext for American-Israeli commandos to ever have to go in and "protect the free world's oil." Aside from the problem of Israel's pressing need for a long-term source of income, the U.S. has its own reasons for wanting to secure exclusive (with Israel, if need be) control of Arab oil, which is, as Paul Nitze and other American strategic thinkers have indicated, to retain political control of Europe.

A major primary goal of recent American foreign policy has been to prevent West Germany from developing such trade with Eastern Europe that an independent economic and political sphere might begin to take shape in Central and Eastern Europe, outside of U.S. control. Detente and Bonn's *Ostpolitik* aroused fears of such a development. The revived Cold War drives an obvious wedge between West Germany and Eastern Europe. Heavy dependence on imported oil is another means to keep West Germany in line—and also, perhaps, to push it toward development of a plutonium economy, despite the widespread opposition of ecologists.

Skittish allies.

In Europe, only France has shown much willingness to go along with U.S. adventures, whose ultimate aim may be to hamstring Germany. In particular, the U.S.'s trusty NATO ally in southern Europe, Italy, has been growing noticeably "skittish," as U.S. spokespersons have put it. Italians are not eager to be dragged blindfolded into wild Bismarckian schemes to redesign Mideast geopolitics—schemes they fear could backfire and submerge the region in Holy War or just plain war.

On Christmas eve, Italy's 87-year-old President Sandro Pertini caused a sensation by bluntly stating his opinion that the 2,000 Italian soldiers in the "multinational peace force" in Beirut should be brought home right away. Pertini was promptly whisked away in an armored

jeep to spend Christmas incommunicado, locked in a carabinieri barracks in Selva di Val Gardena, while the Rome government assiduously reassured Washington that the president was a ceremonial figurehead with no say in policy.

But does the Rome government itself have any real say in policy? Italy's real feelings could be expressed only in the outburst of a legendarily frank but helpless old man, hastily denied and silenced.

Italians have approved the humanitarian mission of the Italian soldiers—draftees, not professionals—in Beirut. While the American Marines and French paratroopers were isolated from the population, the Italians reportedly mingled with the people in their sector, which includes Sabra and Shatila, dispensing medical care and making friends with the children.

But this idyll will likely end badly. Italians have recently discovered that their Beirut mission is less humanitarian than political. The "multinational peace force" is not in Lebanon to carry out some international mandate, but in accord with a private agreement to help "reestablish the sovereignty and authority of the Lebanese government in the zone of Beirut." This means the Italians will eventually have to turn over Sabra and Shatila to Lebanese government troops—largely an extension of the same Maronite fascist militia that carried out the Sabra and Shatila massacres. The agreement says they have to fight only in self defense or "if required to carry out their task of support to the armed forces of the Lebanese government." And this means that the Italian, like the U.S. and French forces, could soon get dragged into the Lebanese civil war. Moreover, they would be dragged in on what most Italians consider to be "the wrong side"—supporting the perpetrators, rather than the victims, of the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

There is another reason for Italian skittishness: Comiso. Although the Italian government had announced that the base near Comiso would not be ready until next March at the earliest, the U.S. promptly went ahead on its own and began unloading Cruise missiles at the big Sigonella NATO base outside Catania, in southeastern Sicily, on November 27. A week later, in retaliation for the October 23 truck bombing that killed 241 U.S. servicemen, the U.S. bombed Syrian positions in Lebanon with aircraft normally based at Sigonella. Cruise missiles are designed precisely to replace manned aircraft on dangerous bombing missions, and Lebanon is well within the range of Cruise missiles stationed in Sicily. Both Italian soldiers and Italian territory seem to be being drawn inexorably into a war Italians do not understand and want no part of.

Society's C

By David Behrens

TAMPA, FLA.

LINDA AND CLARENCE PALMORE sat in the lobby of a downtown hotel. "You'll recognize us," Linda Palmore had said. "I'm sure we'll be the only interracial couple." They were.

Linda Palmore was smiling when she said hello, but it was not a happy day. With Christmas approaching, her husband had just lost his job again, and for the first time, she would not spend the holiday season with her six-year-old daughter Melanie.

The little girl is in a small town in Texas and Linda Palmore hasn't seen her since a windy morning last February when a Tampa court ordered her to hand over the child to her former husband, Anthony Sidoti, Melanie's father.

It has been a hard year for Linda Palmore. In fact, she can remember only one bright moment: the morning of October 17 when the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review a Tampa court decision that gave Anthony Sidoti custody of his daughter. The Court has agreed to hear the case during its spring term. In the case, Judge Morison Buck conceded that the father's resentment of the mother's choice of a black partner is not sufficient to wrest custody from the mother.

But, Buck added, in the crucial paragraph: "This court feels that despite the strides that have been made in bettering relations between the races in this country, it is inevitable that Melanie will...suffer from the social stigmatization that is sure to come."

The Supreme Court's subsequent decision to review Buck's judgment, which relied on interracial marriage as the basis of the custody ruling, is a historic one. It marks the first time that the high court has agreed to rule in any parent vs. parent custody dispute. Until now, it has left to local judges the responsibility of determining "the best interest of the child."

But the case of *Palmore vs. Sidoti* has raised a special question. Precipitated by a petition filed in 1981 by Anthony Sidoti, the legal action was unquestionably prompted by the decision of Sidoti's former wife to live with—and then to marry—a man named Clarence Palmore, a man who is black.

Over dinner, the Palmores talked about their marriage and the unhappy tug-of-war over Melanie's future—an unpleasant public debate that has made them media figures in Florida and, since October, the subject of sympathy, anger and attention across the country.

Linda Palmore still remembers the last time she saw Melanie. "It was kind of chilly and Melanie was wearing her little winter coat and she had her dolls with her. She thought she'd see me that weekend."

But Melanie did not return. Soon after, Sidoti and his new wife moved to Texas and since February 8, Melanie has been permitted to call her mother only once.

The separation is a burden the Palmores had not anticipated. They also did not expect the other hardships in the battle to regain custody of Melanie. In Tampa, as in many communities, it is possible for an interracial couple to live a quiet, private life—especially if they keep a low profile. If they become a news item, life can be more difficult. Since the custody battle began in 1981, for instance, Linda Palmore has lost two jobs, while her husband, a truck driver, has been fired three times, most recently in November. Linda, 37, now works as a clerk at the University of Tampa and attends college at night. Clarence, 27, is still looking for a job.

"The story always comes out, you know," Palmore reflected. "Then, a few days later, I'll get into some kind of hassle on the job or they'll find some excuse to give me a problem, so I prepare myself to lose the job."

And the nasty comments have been predictable. One of Palmore's supervisors said to him: "Hey, we read about you in the paper. You're married to a white woman. You're really big time, aren't you?"

Palmore shrugs off the taunts. "That's not big time. Just being with the one I want to be with," he replied.

The legal case.

This spring, attorney Robert Shapiro will go to Washington to argue Linda Palmore's case before the Supreme Court. Shapiro has posed a direct question: "Whether the equal protection and due process clauses of the 14th Amendment prohibit a court from considering...a subsequent interracial marriage of the custodial parent as a ground for ordering a

change in custody."

The case of *Palmore vs. Sidoti* began in 1980. It was *Sidoti vs. Sidoti* then, the end of a four-year marriage. In an uneventful ruling, Judge Morison Buck decided: "Linda A. Sidoti shall have the permanent care, custody and control of the minor child of the parties, Melanie Lynn Sidoti," subject to reasonable visitation rights.

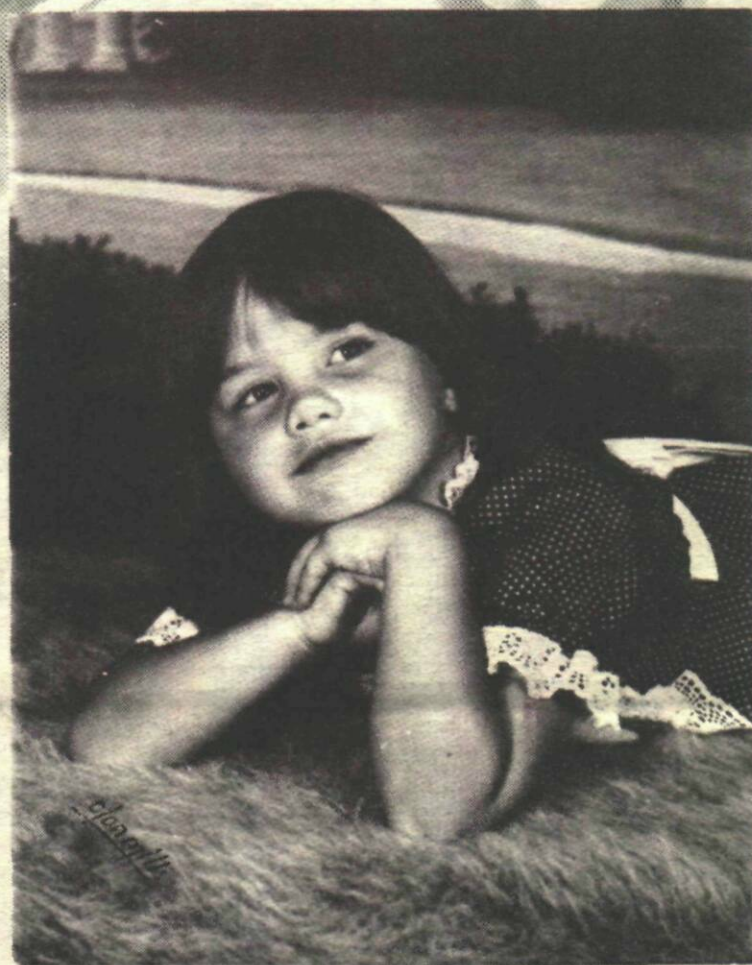
Anthony Sidoti, an air-conditioning mechanic now in his early 30s, was ordered to pay \$30 a week in child care. The settlement was uncontested and Melanie, almost three at the time, remained with her mother.

Time brought changes. On Oct. 11, 1980, five months after the divorce, Anthony Sidoti remarried. And at work at the House of Doors, a Tampa door manufacturer, Linda Sidoti met Clarence Palmore. She was an accounting clerk; he was a truck driver and delivery man. For almost a year, they had a casual relationship, having lunch, going out for an occasional drink.

"Usually with another woman, another white woman," Linda Palmore recalled. It made the social outings less tense, less likely to arouse nasty comment.

By 1981, when the relationship became serious, Palmore moved in with his future wife. They lived in Seffner, a suburb just east of Tampa. She had not yet decided to remarry, but she and Palmore had begun to act like a family. On some weekends, he would have custody of his infant son, Torrance. Shane Haney, her son by her first marriage, also lived with them.

Haney, now 19 and in the Navy, con-



**Can a Tampa mom
denied custody of
her child for marrying a black
man? The Supreme Court is set
to decide this spring.**

Background: Demonstrators
at August 1983 March on
Washington. Photo: STEVE CAGAN
Above: Melanie Sidoti
Photo: DAN MILLS

Child

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sidered Clarence "more of a father than he ever had," his mother said. After school, Clarence would pick up Shane at the high school and then drive by the local day care center to take Melanie home. Melanie also looked forward to Torrance's visits, Linda Palmore remembered. He was a new little brother for Melanie, she said.

Then, one Sunday, while returning Melanie to her mother's home after a weekend visit, Sidoti unexpectedly walked into his ex-wife's home. In the dining room, Clarence Palmore was hanging some drapes.

"He was shocked to see me there," Palmore recalled. "He just turned to Melanie and said, 'See you later, pumpkin,' and walked right out."

A month or so later, Sidoti was back to Buck's courtroom, asking for custody of Melanie. He didn't want Melanie living with her mother and a black man. Linda and Clarence Palmore decided to fight for Melanie. For a brief time, they had considered living separately. "The thing is, we didn't want to be apart or let people force us to be apart." So they were married on Nov. 21, 1981, three months before their case came up again before Judge Morison Buck.

In a petition to Buck's court, Anthony Sidoti protested that his former wife was not acting in Melanie's best interests because, he formally asserted, "she had a black male living with her." When Linda Palmore called Shapiro, the lawyer was stunned by the petition's blatant language. Shapiro had worked as a legal aid attorney for five years and in October 1981 Linda Palmore became one of his first clients in private practice.

"They want to take my child away," she told him, "because I'm living with a black man."

Shapiro said, "You're not telling me it says that right in the petition, are you?" "Yes," she said.

"Well," Shapiro replied, "I've got to see this with my own eyes."

Shapiro recalled: "The minute I saw

the petition, I was sure the case would either go all the way to the Supreme Court or nowhere at all."

But while the Palmores waited for court action, a war of nerves began, with Melanie in the middle. At issue was Melanie's affection for her stepfather.

"What happened was that Melanie was always jumping into Clarence's lap, giving him a big hug. Then on weekends, she'd stay with her father and he'd tell her: 'If you kiss a nigger, you'll go to hell.'"

Soon after, Melanie began to ask questions. "One day," Linda Palmore recounted, "we sat down and I had to tell her, very quietly, how God made all of mankind—and if the color of one person is darker, it doesn't mean that you can't love them, and you won't go to hell."

Linda Palmore smiled broadly when she recalled Melanie's reaction. "Well, I'm sure glad, Mommy," Melanie said, "because it sure is good hugging Clarence."

Social Stigma.

The custody hearing of Feb. 1, 1982, was an unpleasant experience. Linda Palmore, now married, was asked if other men had remained overnight in her house. No, she said, but she had dated one other man before she remarried. "I don't remember how late he stayed," she responded to cross-examination. Then she turned to the bench and added, "But your honor, sir, I figure, as a single woman...don't I have a right to have male companionship?"

But Sidoti's attorney contended that was not the issue. And from the witness stand, Sidoti testified: "I feel that the environment that is caused by a mixed marriage—it is just a strain on Melanie."

Linda Palmore denied the charge. "My son Shane and Melanie both have great affection for my husband, Mr. Palmore. They admire him and respect him because he is a very loving man.... My son considers him a substitute father because his own father does not see him but about once a year. And Melanie tells me she loves him very much...and respects him and minds him."

Earlier, Buck received a report from John C. Knight, a court counselor who interviewed the principles. While there was no question that both parents loved Melanie, Knight wrote, "the wife has chosen for herself and for her child a lifestyle unacceptable to the father and to society. No parent has the right to commit a child to the uncertainty of adversity beyond the limit of reasonable calculable risks."

And in his March 1, 1982, ruling, Buck echoed Knight's thinking. "It is of some significance," he wrote, "that the mother did see fit to bring a man into her home and carry on a sexual relationship with him without being married to him. Such action tended to place gratification of her own desires ahead of her concern for the child's future welfare." And, he concluded, the potential "social stigmatization" of an interracial marriage on Melanie was the crucial factor in his decision to award Sidoti custody.

But in "the best interest of the child," Buck modified his earlier custody arrangement, restricting Sidoti from removing Melanie from the Tampa area without court approval. According to Shapiro, Sidoti is now in contempt of court, although no action to force Melanie's return to the Tampa area has been filed.

In Texas, John Hawtrey, Sidoti's new lawyer, said he didn't know if Sidoti had violated the court ruling, but added, "I can't see why the court would object to him living here." Sidoti was not available for comment.

Buck's ruling was upheld without comment on Dec. 8, 1982, by a Florida District Court of Appeals. Shapiro had argued that the deprivation of her child violated Linda Palmore's "rights of privacy, equal protection and due process of law, guaranteed by the 1st and 14th Amendments." And, Shapiro added, it violated Clarence Palmore's "right to be free from the badges of slavery as guaranteed by the 13th Amendment." In addition, Shapiro contended, the lower court had

infringed upon the Palmores' right to marry a person of another race, a principle established by the Supreme Court in a 1967 case. "The 14th Amendment requires that the freedom of choice to marry not be restricted by invidious racial discrimination," the high court had ruled.

The real message of the Tampa decision, Shapiro asserted, "was that while Mrs. Palmore could not be imprisoned for her marriage to a black man, she could be deprived of her child as punishment."

Sidoti's attorney countered that "the recognition that children raised in an interracial household may encounter stress...applies equally to all children and parents, regardless of their races." But, Shapiro retorted, judicial worry over interracial marriages "appears to arise only when the child is white."

Last winter, Linda Palmore took an afternoon off and took Melanie to a park to tell her about her future.

"I explained it with as little emotion as possible, so it wouldn't upset her. We played and talked and I said she was going to spend some time with her father. But I said we'd see each other regularly, and no matter what anybody ever told her, to always remember I loved her very much."

On Feb. 8, 1983, Linda Palmore said goodbye to Melanie. A few days later, she mailed the child a Valentine's Day card to the address Sidoti had given her. The card came back, undelivered. Later, birthday gifts never reached Melanie. The months passed.

In October, a phone call came. A plea to Sidoti's lawyer produced the only call. But the talk was strained.

"It was as if someone was there, coaching her. She was in first grade now, she said, and she was in Texas and she didn't know when she was coming back and she missed me. I told her I couldn't find her until now—that I had to do a lot of looking around for her. But I felt I had to pull answers out of her. It was like she didn't know what to say to me any more."

So they cling to happier memories, Clarence Palmore said, like the time he was playing football with Shane and his friends.

"Some of the guys would say, 'Hey, who's the black guy over there?' And Shane would say, 'That's my father.' And they'd give him a funny look and Shane would say, 'Well, he is...don't we look just alike?'"

Behind it all, Linda Palmore thinks that her ex-husband is simply terrified that Melanie will grow up to think it's not wrong to marry a black man. "We just hope Melanie doesn't change.... We don't want her to grow up being a bigot," she says.

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Dave Behrens is a reporter for Newsday.



PERSPECTIVES

Peace Now sends a message to the U.S.

By Walter Ruby

TZALI RESHEF, A FOUNDER and the leading spokesman for Israel's Peace Now movement, recently toured the U.S. and Canada to deliver a clear message. Diaspora Jews and Diaspora Jewish leaders who privately object to Israel's settlement policies in the occupied territories, the West Bank and Gaza, but who do not say so publicly are helping the Likud government to legitimize these very policies.

Reshef acknowledges the dilemma of Diaspora leaders concerned that any public criticism of Israeli policies will strengthen the hands of Israel's enemies. But he said, "While I appreciate this deep and genuine concern, I believe that by choosing not to speak out, these leaders are doing much greater long term damage to Israel than they would by openly criticizing the government's policies. Diaspora leaders ought to be able to distinguish between criticism of Israel as a state and criticism of certain policies of the Israeli government.

"It is important for American Jewish leaders to be aware of the consequences of their silence. They simply do not have the luxury of not being counted. Even if

you told [former Prime Minister] Begin privately 100 times that you were against his settlement policy, the fact is that unless you spoke out publicly here and in Israel, you were, and still are, counted as supporting Begin's plans and all their consequences.

"Begin always emphasized [to the Israeli public] his meetings with American Jewish leaders and was able to create a false impression in Israel that the American Jewish community was unanimously behind his policies."

The Peace Now leader expressed these views in New York recently during a fundraising and *hasbara* (information) tour on behalf of his volunteer organization. Born in 1953, Reshef was one of the group of Israel Defense Force reserve officers who formed the nucleus of Peace Now. Now an attorney in Tel Aviv, and a father of three small children, Reshef is Peace Now's most recognized name and leading spokesman.

Serious and personable, Reshef emphasized throughout our conversation that he and other peace movement activists have been motivated in their efforts primarily by a deep love for Israel and concern about where the country seems to be headed.

From the beginning of the Peace Now movement, he said, "we have felt that we really had no choice but to oppose our

government's policies. Not to have done so would have been, in our minds, a kind of disloyalty to Israel."

Reshef said that Peace Now is starting to focus its efforts on "influencing the Jewish establishment in America, so that they will better understand our point of view. In Israel, we are no longer considered an extreme or radical element. We believe it is important for us to achieve the same recognition here."

Long way to go.

Reshef concedes Peace Now has not had as much success as he would have wanted in efforts to communicate with the Jewish establishment. In some American cities, Peace Now spokesmen have been invited to speak at Jewish community centers, and there is more of an appreciation that they represent a legitimate point of view. "But in general, we still have a long way to go," he says.

Turning to the Israeli scene, Reshef is in "total disagreement" with those like former Deputy Mayor of Jerusalem Meron Benvenisti, who contend that Israel's "creeping annexation" of the West Bank has already become irreversible.

Reshef cited evidence he believes points in the other direction: "The fact is that there are only about 25,000 settlers presently living on the West Bank—less than 2 percent of the total population. Recently the government admitted that the growth of the Jewish population [in the occupied territories] has not gone as quickly as it would have liked. The new Finance Minister [Yigal Cohen-Orgad], who is a supporter of the settlements, has stated that government expenditures for Jewish settlements in the West Bank will have to be cut because the government simply does not have enough money to carry out all of its plans."

Reshef said that while "the extreme political ideology of the settlers poses a danger to the process of withdrawal during the course of the 20th century, there have been much greater demographic changes than moving 25,000 people here or there. We had a rehearsal of the whole process when we returned the Sinai."

Reshef declared, "If Israel ever reaches that 'point of irreversibility,' it will be a tremendous tragedy for Israel. We would have a bi-national state of the worst kind—a bloody state with constant strife, along the lines of Northern Ireland. It would be the end of the Zionist idea."

"Fortunately," he added, "we still have some distance to go before reaching that point."

Held major demonstrations.

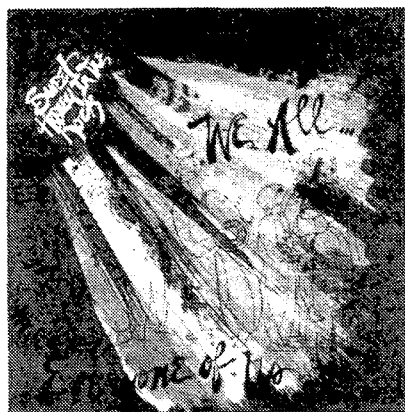
In recent months, Peace Now has held major demonstrations on the West Bank to express opposition to the government's settlement efforts there. Reshef noted that when the organization found out that the government had chosen Independence Day to dedicate a new settlement next to Nablus, 10,000 demonstrators were brought to the site of the ceremony to protest.

He recalled, "There were only a few hundred settlers gathered there to take part in the ceremony. When [Deputy Prime Minister] David Levy arrived in his helicopter and saw that nearly the whole crowd was Peace Now people, he turned around and flew out, canceling the ceremony."

"Of course," Reshef conceded, "this was an example of what we call *simchat ani'im* (joys of the poor), since all we achieved was ruining the ceremony. The government launched the settlement anyway."

Another Peace Now action came after

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the killing of a Jewish yeshiva student in Hebron and the violent rampage by Jewish settlers in nearby Kiryat Arba that wrecked the Hebron market. After those events, the government announced a decision to rebuild the old Jewish quarter in Hebron. According to Reshef, Peace Now held a major demonstration in Hebron to declare that "we furiously oppose the recreation of the Jewish quarter and the confiscation of the Hebron bus station and marketplace for that purpose."

Confronted defense minister.

Reshef said that he and other Peace Now leaders emphasized their feelings about Hebron in a meeting several weeks ago with Defense Minister Moshe Arens. "Arens told us he believed it was beneficial for everyone, including the Arab population, that Jews should be able to return to live in all of the places they lived before 1945. We asked him, 'Does that mean that Arabs will be allowed to return to their homes in Jaffa, Haifa and Acre?'"

Reshef said that when the subject of Lebanon was raised during the meeting with Arens, the defense minister informed his visitors that he had no differences with them on that issue, since the government wishes to withdraw from Lebanon.

Reshef recalled, "We said to him, 'in that case, what are you waiting for?' Arens said that Israel is waiting until a strong Lebanese central government develops that will be able to control the whole of Lebanon."

He added, "We believe that is like saying we will wait for the Messiah. In effect, that precondition means the effective partition of Lebanon between Israel and Syria. Israel would have the responsibility of governing an additional 700,000 Arabs, including a great many Shi'ites, who both Israel and America have learned in recent weeks are not the most pleasant enemies."

Reshef stated that Peace Now believes "Israel should set a schedule for withdrawal...come to terms with strong groups in southern Lebanon and take measures to secure our north." Like the Labor Party, Peace Now also believes the government should declare a 'red line' in southern Lebanon, south of which it would not tolerate the introduction of Syrian troops.

"Of course," Reshef declared, "such a course is not risk free, and we have to be ready to intervene again if things develop in a way unacceptable to us. But the alternative to withdrawal—staying in Lebanon and continuing to suffer losses without any plan of how we are going to get out—that is a far worse option."

Not considering militant ways.

Although by Reshef's own admission, Peace Now's demonstrations have failed to stop the accelerating Jewish settlement of the West Bank, Reshef emphasized that Peace Now has not thought about switching to more militant tactics such as civil disobedience.

"Peace Now has been very orthodox from the beginning in doing things legally, and we will continue to stay within the law. In this, we are unlike Gush Emunim, which feels free to break the law whenever they feel it to be advantageous. We are afraid that if Peace Now took the same approach, we would soon be on the way to anarchy," Reshef said.

Peace Now is committed to working within the democratic process. "Israel is a democratic country, and the Likud is the elected government. It is presently implementing its policy. We in the opposition may believe it is a disastrous policy—but we can only mobilize public opinion in democratic, legal ways."

He added, "As a practical consideration, we believe that eventually Israel will have a government that will realize the necessity of returning the territories. We

are concerned that when that happens, other groups that are not as principled as we are could undertake actions that would create a danger to the functioning of democratic government."

Reshef stressed that Peace Now clearly disapproves of the action of left-wing groups such as Yesh Gvul ("There is a limit"), which consists of soldiers who have refused to serve in Lebanon and have gone to jail as a result.

Said Reshef, "We believe such actions represent a serious danger to the infrastructure of Israeli society. In Israel, people of all political opinions serve in the army. If each person is to be free to decide for himself what he will and will not do, we soon will not have an army, but a collection of militias."

Flexible political scene.

Turning to the Israeli political scene, Reshef said it was "hard to say" how the departure of Menachem Begin will affect the respective fortunes of Israel's parties. "The Israeli political scene is very flexible right now. Recent polls show that Labor would win if elections were held today, but that can change."

Reshef makes no pretense to impartiality between Israel's two major parties. "I believe it would make a great difference for our cause if Labor comes to power. I was critical of Labor when they were in power, but believe me, I miss them a lot today. That is not to say that they will implement all of our views. But the fact is that we represent something like half of Labor's constituency, and any Labor government would have to take our views into consideration."

Reshef said that one of Peace Now's top priorities is organizing among Israel's Sephardic population, which has traditionally supported Likud's hardline policies. "We are working with certain Sephardic groups to try to change those attitudes. So far, we have had only modest achievements, but we recognize that this is one of our main responsibilities," he said.

Asked whether the loose internal structure of Peace Now—the movement is entirely voluntary, with no central office and no salaried staff members—has hindered, Reshef replied, "The way we are structured is not an accident. From the beginning we did not want to have an

establishment, with functionaries drawing down salaries and protecting their personal interests.

"In some ways our organizational form is a weakness, but it also gives the movement a face that is young, spontaneous and genuine."

Reshef noted he is "amazed" that the voluntary, grassroots movement has had "such outstanding achievements in terms of influencing Israeli politics and society." Among those achievements, according to Reshef, have been "helping to create the atmosphere [in favor of making concessions in return for peace] before Camp David and during the Lebanon war, helping to bring about the creation of the Commission of Inquiry [into Sabra and Shatilla] and later helping to force the resignation of [Ariel] Sharon as defense minister."

Peace Now, he continued, "is really an incredible phenomenon. As a movement, it proves that the small citizen, without personal power or influence, can be very significant in influencing events. Once you understand that this is possible, you just can't turn around and give up." ■

Walter Ruby writes for the Jewish World.

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By A. Robert Kaufman

THE INSENSITIVITY AND ignorance of sections of the American left to the history of Zionism and the state of Israel (as epitomized by recent correspondence to *In These Times*) is truly frightening.

As a Marxist and a non-Zionist (as opposed to an anti-Zionist) and as a Jew, I have recently taken the effort to re-examine the history. I acknowledge the right of Jews who were convinced that no nation was safe for them in the '30s to find some spot on earth in which they could build their own nation. That is called "self-determination." There was no place on earth that was not already occupied by other people. So Palestinian culture had to suffer at the expense of Jewish survival (and by the '30s it was a matter of Jewish survival). As one Labor Zionist described it, this was a question of two injustices. Yet, despite mistakes, huge shortages of material aid and a lack of friends who cared enough to do anything to save six million Jews—no people in recorded history have shown more sensitivity or done more to be fair, just and giving to a disadvantaged people, than the early Zionists.

As opposed to every example of European or American imperialism, there was

DIALOG

Anti-Zionist letters little short of sick

no lowering of the standard of living of the other culture. As a matter of fact, Jewish immigration to Palestine resulted both in a lowering of infant mortality and expanding life expectancy for Arabs, as well as an increased immigration of Arabs from other countries.

The Zionists didn't steal the land, they bought it at relatively inflated prices. That they bought "large land parcels from corrupt absentee landlords and were armed by the British," as James Houseworth-Findley claims (*ITT*, Dec. 7, 1983) is nonsense. Arab society had permitted "corrupt absentee landlords" to dominate in Palestine and elsewhere in the Arab world for many years. Who else were the Zionists to buy the land from? Britain did everything that public opin-

ion would allow to prevent Jews from migrating to Israel up to 1948, when Jewish boat people were still being turned back. Perhaps a million or more Jews could have been saved from Hitler had Britain really been supportive of Zionism. When the British pulled out in 1948 they made every effort to turn their bases and equipment over to the Palestinians, who, incidentally, were led by Nazis—both native born and German war criminals.

To argue that Zionists collaborated with the Nazis, particularly with the example given, is little short of sick. Some 60,000 to 70,000 Jews wanted to flee Germany. Hitler wouldn't let them leave with more than the equivalent of \$4.00. No nation would admit paupers. The only exception was that Britain would allow up to \$12,000 moneyless Jews a year to Palestine. The Ha-avara or Transfer Agreement permitted these German Jews to leave with \$4,000 worth of German goods that would be sold in Palestine and the profits split between these immigrants and the Zionist organization.

This money not only saved the lives of 60,000-70,000 German Jews, but paid for the facilities to accept an equal number of penniless Polish and Romanian Jews. That averages to about \$2,000 per Jew of money Hitler would have eventually confiscated anyway. Seems like a pretty good trade-off to me, all things considered.

But where does Houseworth-Findley come up with such esoteric details and more important, why does he use them to make such a grave and meaningless generalization?

In the '30s, nearly everyone "collaborated" in some manner or other with the Nazis, including the German CP and SDP, the Soviet Union and all the World War II Allies. What does this prove? Not a damned thing. Nazi Germany was a force not to be ignored. Either you made all-out war on her, or you conducted political and economic relations with her.

Why demand of Zionists different standards?

Perhaps the most unjust jibe of all is Houseworth-Findley's assertion that in

1948, "the Jewish settlers, with American support, were powerful enough to act on their own. By various means they did push out a large chunk of the Arab population." What is forgotten is that a half-dozen Arab nations, with British arms and German Nazi advisors attacked Israel with the declared aim of pushing the poorly armed and numerically weak Jews into the sea. Most observers agree that had they succeeded there would have been another Holocaust.

It was the Soviet Union in the UN that championed the right of Israel to be born. The U.S. only at the last moment cast its vote with the Soviets.

And it was Czechoslovakian and later French arms that permitted Israel to defend itself, and to absorb the survivors of Hitler as well as the 500,000-600,000 Jewish refugees from the brutality of other Arab states.

"If Zionism is Jewish nationalism, then is Nazism German nationalism?!" Dino Joseph Drudl rhetorically asks in the same column where he goes on to observe that "Zionism means that all non-Jews (i.e., the Palestinians) must eventually leave, voluntarily or otherwise. Zionism is thus racism."

Zionism, as defined by its major leaders, has never called for all non-Jews to leave Israel. Accommodation was always to be made for Moslems, Druse and Christians. And until the 1967 war where, while repelling an attack by Egypt, Syria and Jordan, Israel acquired the West Bank and Gaza Strip, there never was a question of Arabs ever becoming a majority in Israel.

Giving Palestinians self-determination in these areas is now the prime area of conflict between right- and left-wing Zionists. It should be noted that Jordan and Egypt controlled those two areas from 1948 to 1967, and neither made any effort to provide Palestinian self-determination.

The "Zionism is racism" charge is difficult to reply to adequately in a few words. Every nation, of course, defines its nationals. For most it is relatively

The level of ignorance about Zionist history by leftists is truly frightening.

easy to establish that those who were born within the borders of the state are by definition citizens.

But Israel was established as a refuge for a people particularly singled out through Western class society for unprecedented persecution throughout the ages. To now condemn such a state as "racist" because—Law of Return—instant citizenship is provided for Jews while other non-natives must go through more normal naturalization procedures is to sink "injustice" to a new historical low.

There is good reason for those on the left, Jewish and gentile, to oppose much of Israel's foreign policy from 1950 on (particularly her alliance with U.S. imperialism) as well as her treatment of Palestinians. Her invasion of Lebanon was inexcusable and her refusal to negotiate peace with the PLO and to establish a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza is both tragic and stupid.

But leftists have been attacking Israel for other reasons—singling her out with a different standard, presenting arguments gauged to deny Israel, alone among the nations, the right to exist.

I used to think that anti-Semitism was a monopoly of the right—it so well served its purposes. But how else can one describe such incessant baiting and rewriting of history by supposed leftists as anything but "anti-Semitism"?

Anti-Semitism must be opposed not just because it hurts Jews, but because over the centuries it has proven to be one of the most effective weapons of ruling classes to divide, weaken and control the working classes.

The Stern Gang-Nazi link

By Lenni Brenner

PAUL BERMAN (*ITT*, LETTERS, Dec. 21, 1983) objects to *In These Times* publishing letters linking Zionism and Nazism, proclaiming that such writers "bear heavy axes against the Jews." However, I have before me a copy of the memorandum sent to the Nazis in late 1940 by the "Stern Gang," the then organization of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. These Zionists told the Nazis that, if Adolf Hitler would only be so kind as to let them provide military training to the Jews he had already penned up in Poland's ghettos, they, the Stern Gang, would "actively take part in the war on Germany's side.... These military units would take part in the fight to conquer Palestine."

Shamir's traitors went on:

"Common interests could exist between the establishment of a new order in Europe in conformity with the German

concept, and the true national aspirations of the Jewish people.... Cooperation between the new Germany and a renewed folkish-national Hebrum would be possible and the establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian basis...bound by a treaty with the German Reich, would be in the interests of a maintained and strengthened future German position of power in the Near East."

Shamir's thugs described themselves to the Aryan co-thinkers, declaring that their "terrorist activities began as early as in the fall of the year 1936." They insisted that their organization was "closely related to the totalitarian movements of Europe in its ideology and structure."

It is impossible to discuss all the details of the Stern Gang's—and other Zionist tendencies—repeated attempts to "link" themselves to the Italian Fascists and then the Nazis. Readers are therefore referred to my book, *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (Lawrence Hill & Co.).

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RADICAL HISTORY

Interviews with history



Socialist-feminist Linda Gordon is an historian of the birth control movement in the U.S.

Visions of History

By MARHO, the Radical Historians Organization
Edited by Henry Abelove, Betsy Blackmar, Peter Dimock and Jonathan Schneer
Pantheon Books, 308 pp., \$10.95 paper

By Dave Roediger

In 1950, preparing to write an obituary tribute to the great Afro-American historian Carter G. Woodson, W.E.B. DuBois directed a letter to Woodson's friend, Rayford Logan. DuBois asked, "How did he play? Was he interested in baseball or football? Did he play cards of any kind, whist or poker? Did he like children and have any contact with them?" That scrap of correspondence (published in the third volume of Herbert Aptheker's excellent collection of DuBois' correspondence) has long stuck in my mind. It perfectly illustrates what a consummate craftsman DuBois was, even on a small job. And it deftly opens questions regarding the relationship between personality and historical writing.

The 13 interviews in *Visions of History* do not quite provide the kind of telling personal detail DuBois was after, but they do convey how deeply personality conditions the work of historians. They show that many of our best left historians were virtually driven into Clio's arms by a need to make sense of their political experiences. Some—C.L.R. James and Eric Hobsbawm are striking examples—have even managed to keep a smoldering, illuminating commitment to historical truth and political understanding alive for decades. With its wide range of expansive

interviews, *Visions* defies a short review. But this book of questions deserves to have some questions posed about it, and as a book of answers it deserves a review providing some answers.

Who is interviewed?

Three Europeanists—E.P. Thompson, Natalie Zemon Davis and Sheila Rowbotham—join six historians of the U.S., David Montgomery, William Appleman Williams, Linda Gordon, Staughton Lynd, Vincent Harding and Herbert Gutman. The Sovietologist Moshe Lewin and John Womack, an historian of labor and revolution in Mexico, are also included, along with James and Hobsbawm—historians of nothing less ambitious than world capitalism.

Are the responses about the historians themselves or about "doing history"?

The book's chief virtue may be

the explosion of that distinction. Most of the interviews concentrate on the backgrounds and social concerns of the historians. Montgomery's section is at times almost an oral history of a Communist trade union activist in the '50s. Much of the Hobsbawm and Lewin material has the same tone of considered autobiography. In each case the connection of experience with the kind of history each came to write is subtle but unmistakable.

What are the high spots?

There are many. Womack's contribution sharply raises the old and good question of whether "radical" (and not "socialist" or "Marxist") best describes the kind of history we want to create and explores the implications of that question. "I think," he writes, "radical is an adverb. I would want to know radical/ly/what."

Embedded in a rather disjointed conversation with James—based on two different interviews—is a remarkable passage that elegantly sets out the essence of Marxism and its relationship to "people's history." A fair number of the other interviewees proclaim themselves "Marxists but ..." They fill in the blank with "eclectic," "sophisticated," "not mechanical," "not determinist," "attentive to human complexity" and such. James observes that the "but" in such mini-disavowals ought to be replaced by "and therefore."

"My philosophy about history is in my opinion the Marxist philosophy," he writes, adding, "the understanding of the struggle of classes is what Marx insists upon. ... You must, at critical moments, see what the great mass of people are doing. That is Marxism."

Montgomery's characterization of DuBois as "someone who just towered over everything

throughout [the '50s]" is also on the mark. His recollections of the latter's commitment to principle and his popularity among many black workers are a useful corrective to the common and one-sided view of DuBois as the tragic old man of the post-World War II years.

Are great historians necessarily brilliant in their reflections on the writing of history?

Not always. Even Thompson, who certainly has shown himself capable of writing exemplary history and of occasionally telling us insightfully how to do so, is disappointing here. He settles for comments without nuance in discussing the relationship between historical writing and the moral and political choices of historians. In his floggings of the French Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser and at other junctures, Thompson often manages only a flat defense of empiricism.

Gutman's approving paraphrase of Jean-Paul Sartre, to the effect that "the essential question...is not what has been done to men and women but

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Hodgkin, Walter Rodney and Ruth First cannot be included—tragic not because they weren't included here, but because we no longer have the chance to call upon the insights of these late and mourned activist-historians, the latter two of whom were murdered. The continued segregation of the important Old Left historians, especially Herbert Aptheker and Philip Foner, from contemporary radical history also detracts from *Visions*.

American readers will lament the absence of questions to Hobsbawm regarding his superb writings on Afro-American music. While Britishers will miss an exploration of James' seminal writings on sport and society in his work on cricket.

Finally, the interviews seldom address the crisis of unemployment and underemployment in the history profession—a tough set of problems around which neither left nor mainstream historians have developed coherent strategies for struggle.

Is *VISIONS* worth a long look?

Eminently. It obviously holds



British historian and author of *THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH WORKING CLASS*, E.P. Thompson

what men and women do with what has been done to them" is a poetically appealing formulation only until we ask how it is possible to discuss one set of questions without discussing the others.

Are there significant gaps?

Of course. There is little sustained discussion of how to popularize history, although the excellent suggestions of Lynd regarding oral history as a means of calling forth analysis from the "informants" is a happy exception, along with some of Hobsbawm's remarks. The choice of mostly university-centered interviewees may have contributed to this weakness. In this connection it is tragic that interviews with Harry Braverman, Thomas

great lessons for aspiring historians. Among the most vital of these are to learn a craft rather than to learn about a narrow place and time. Linda Gordon's exciting studies of socialist-feminist history began with a dissertation on Ukrainian cossacks, while Hobsbawm began by studying North Africa. Williams' terse summary of the "great tradition" of graduate history education at his University of Wisconsin *alma mater* nicely reinforces this point: "Learn how to do the right kind of research, learn the basic rules...of how to think straight, and then make sense out of the material."

But more importantly, this collection has an appeal for those who hope never to know the pleasures of coming up for tenure or indexing one's own book. It is an appetite-whetting introduction to recent trends and problems in the writing of radical history and a reminder of what is at stake in the best historical works. In this connection the last word belongs to Womack, paraphrasing Antonio Gramsci. "In a world of many kinds of lies, coerced, compulsive and deliberate," writes Womack, "it's a revolutionary act just to tell the truth."

Dave Roediger is an historian and currently an American Council of Learned Societies fellow.



John Womack is an historian of labor and revolution in Mexico.

This collection shows how personality conditions the work of historians.

ENTERTAINMENT «» ART

ARTISTS CALL



Cultural Exchange: Sandinista Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal reads his poems at Artists Call meeting in New York.

North meets South: art as Avenue of Americas

By Sue Heinemann

Solidarity with the people of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada, Guatemala. This has become a familiar cry—reverberating through demonstrations, blazing forth on leaflets, singing across banners.

But what about solidarity emerging from the pristine walls of art galleries, echoing through concert chambers, flashing on video screens? An unprecedented show of this sort of cultural resistance is planned this month by the Artists Call Against U.S. Intervention in Central America. Poets, performers, filmmakers, musicians and visual artists in 25 cities are organizing cultural events to support the people of Central America in their right to self-determination. The aim is to raise consciousness as well as funds for such organizations as the Sandinista Association of Cultural Workers (ASTC), the University of El Salvador (which was closed down by the military but continues to educate students in improvised classrooms), and CUS (the Salvadoran Labor Coalition).

Imagine the reactions of Cleveland motorists rushing home along the expressway on Friday, January 20—greeted at bridge after bridge with banners of information on what is happening in Central America. A similar display will confront weekend

consumers in the shopping malls.

Houston will be hit with a variety of exhibits and events, including *The Undocumented One*, a play by the Union for Defense and Education of the Undocumented Hispanic Community.

Seattle organizers claim that 98 percent of the community's visual artists are participating.

In New York, works by 750 artists will invade some 40 spaces—from the new Museum of Contemporary Art to commercial galleries like Leo Castelli to alternative spaces like Franklin Furnace. Poetry readings plus film and performance festivals promise to make Central America dominate the January cultural scene, culminating (but not ending) on January 28, as participants dressed in black, carrying coffins, will "March on Death" through New York streets tolling their way.

In Chicago, the cultural calendar also threatens to be taken over by Artists Call with exhibitions, performances and readings.

Every city's offerings have their own flavor. Although coordinated nationally by Lucy R. Lippard, the organizing is very much grassroots, with an eye to impact in each particular place. The emphasis is also with ongoing projects.

As Michael Perri from Atlanta expresses it, "Our hope is that it is not simply a one-shot thing around January." Atlanta itself

is adopting a sister city in Nicaragua to facilitate cultural exchange. For Perri, what is equally important is how, "for the first time in the South, artists are starting to work with other political organizations."

Various art shows will travel, including works by Nicaraguan artists, photographs from El Salvador and "mail art" from Latin America. Artists Call posters (designed by Claes Oldenburg) and buttons (by Peter Gourfain) are being used for both display and fundraising. In addition, many art publications will spotlight Artists Call on their covers or in their January issues.

Behind-the-scene story.

What lies behind this mass campaign? How did it start? And what is the importance of such art organizing?

In an article for *Art and Artist*, Artists Call organizers Daniel Flores y Ascencio and Lucy R. Lippard explain, "Culture is both the soft and the strong spot of any liberation movement. Artists Call is concentrating on cultural support for Central America...because when a culture is destroyed the soul of a people dies, along with its history."

Besides raising consciousness and influencing public opinion, the aim is to foster understanding and mutual respect among artists in the Americas. On this point it differs from art protest actions during the Vietnam war, when

there was little contact with Vietnamese artists.

Many U.S. artists have traveled to Nicaragua and observed the work of the cultural brigades there. And Latin American artists in exile here have played a crucial role in the organizing. Indeed, Artists Call itself originated within the Institute for Arts and Letters of El Salvador in Exile (INALSE) and is working closely with ASTC in Nicaragua.

Speaking from his experience as a Salvadoran artist in exile, Flores underlines the importance of the show of support by U.S. artists. For Flores the involvement of so many galleries is also key, as it increases visibility and ties into art's own power base.

"Many North American artists don't realize the political power culture has," Flores asserts. And he stresses how in Latin America art and politics are not separated.

Discussions of an art-political action within INALSE and between Flores, Lippard and Doug Ashford soon extended to artists in New York and then across the country. There is no set "political line" to Artists Call—except for insistence on an end to U.S. intervention. Different groups offer different perspectives, from directly pointed political pieces to more abstract statements.

Rudolf Baranik, for instance, describes how a group of artists will take a street action by installing "La Verdadera Avenida de Las Americas" ("the true Avenue of the Americas") in the gallery district of West Broadway in New York on January 21. Huge banners with images of Latin American freedom fighters will confront the Saturday SoHo art crowd.

Asked about the importance of artists bringing attention to Central America, Baranik stresses, "Artists should be involved perhaps for double reasons—as human beings and as people who do have a way of speaking to others." Although Baranik admits that the immediate effect artists have on political social issues is not easily measurable, he insists that "you have to do what you feel you have to do without worrying too much about the effect. There are no barometers."

Intervention and rape.

Another view of Central America emerges from an installation on "rape intervention" presented at the Yvonne Seguy gallery and done by four women—two from Latin America (Josely Carvalho of Brazil, Catalina Parra of Chile) and two from North America (Paulette Nenner, Nancy Spero). As Carvalho explains, "We started with intervention and our North American sisters came in with rape and we merged together—rape and intervention. Which, I think, is interesting because it says a lot about feminism—Latin American feminism and North American feminism.... It's very much in terms of Latin American feminism related to politics and the whole socio-economic structure and North American feminism more related to woman herself."

The "rape/intervention" piece is trying to get at the "essence of a political situation," notes Spero. What's going on in Nicaragua and El Salvador is fear," adds Carvalho.

But the art itself is not simply an evocation of fear. Nenner emphasizes the element of rage. How deep inside there is a desire to lash out at the attacker. "When I do art about that, it's very strong. That art doesn't ex-

press fear. It's just powerful. It's a huge weapon."

From a different angle, Patricia Jones and Kimiko Hahn, both poets, speak of the power of language. "Literacy is power and how one uses [this] has to do with what the moral and ethical view of the world will be." Beyond the confessional mode of writing, Jones points to the need for dialog. And Hahn indicates how New York writers are trying to broaden this dialog by forming poetry brigades to take Artists Call into the community—in collaboration with schools, churches and neighborhood groups. They are also translating a variety of Latin American work, to be both read and published.

Painter Leon Golub expresses a personal connection that is perhaps key to many artists' taking action: "I feel strongly about it because, well, it's almost a defensive thing on my part. The people they're killing in El Salvador are either workers or teachers and lawyers. People of this kind. In other words, artists could easily be on their death lists—artists who would deviate at all from really conventional notions of art."

Golub's own paintings are directly concerned with this subject. As he puts it, "I'm interested in who does what to whom, who's watching, who's calling the shots."

Although, like Baranik, Golub acknowledges the difficulty in gauging the effect of artists' protests, he too stresses that artists must participate as part of the broad spectrum in society.

As Lippard and Flores concluded in their article, "It is a hopeful sign of North American political maturity that more people understand that no art is without ideology and that 'using' our own art to communicate ideals of freedom inherent in the very process of art-making is different from letting it be 'used' by those who oppose such freedom under the guise of pseudo-democracy."

Sue Heinemann is a performance artist who works with Heresies, a feminist publication on art and politics.

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

January 27

"Martin Guerre: Peasant Women and Class Structure," a lecture by Natalie Zemon Davis, sponsored by MARHO: the Radical Historians Organization, 7:30 at John Jay College, 445 W. 59 St. (10th Ave.), \$3.

CHICAGO, ILL.

February 2

Robert Scheer, Correspondent for the Los Angeles Times and author of *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War*, will speak at PSR/Chicago Chapter meeting, Thursday, 6:30 p.m. Illinois Masonic Medical Center, Center Court Auditorium, 836 W. Wellington.

Cop

Continued from page 16

wanted to be a policeman for many reasons. For one, the pay was good. It was challenging and ever changing. Something new all the time. And it puts me out there and I felt I was really doing something for people and the community. My first assignment, right out of the Academy, was my old neighborhood.

At first I had some problems. I was a pretty straight policeman. I didn't drink, so I didn't socialize too much with the coppers in the bars. I didn't take money and that pretty much separated me from another group. Then there was my racial status and my philosophy on race and racism. This was 1978, and the ratio of Hispanic cops was very low compared to the neighborhood composition.

Three years on the job and I got the highest efficiency rating in the district. This means I beat officers, 10, 15, 20 years on the job. Despite this, I've been constantly overlooked for meritorious promotions, like the Tactical Unit.

The Latin youth gangs.

Now the gang bangers. For some reason I have a special place in my heart for these kids. I've been the guy who had to tell the mother her son just got killed. I've been

the guy to bring them home after curfew, and the mother's so frustrated. She's tried everything, talking to him, slapping him, and she can't seem to control this kid.

I've seen innocent kids killed for senseless, stupid things—the way he stands, the colors he wears, standing in the wrong place.

Studying the history and the background of these kids, I feel this drive in me. This same background is my own. I really think this whole system is breeding these gangs. The problems are lack of jobs, poor education, lack of resources and motivation. They lack the knowledge of who they are. The system tries to convert them to something else, yet at the same time they are never accepted. The Catch-22 is they'll never accept them into what they're trying to convert them to.

I was talking to this one kid, a black Puerto Rican, and he was talking about how his hair was messed up because it was kinky and curly. I said, the reason you feel that way is because you watch television, and the way to be is light skin, blond hair and blue eyes—the all-American and only righteous way to be. I told him there's nothing you can do about it. You're black. This is you. Stand up, be proud and you accept what you are.

The gangs are all ethnic minorities, poor kids who have been denied opportunities. It's a lot worse than you think on the streets. I work 12:00 to 8:00 a.m., because I'm going to school, thinking

about a law degree. This is the time when the really bad guys are out. Two or three years ago, it was much worse. If a cop's radio was silent for 10 seconds, he'd call the station to see if there was something wrong with it.

Mostly these kids are banging on each other. But there's people shot by mistake, and the robberies, the burglaries, the dope. When they can't get a job, there's no other way to get money. I see it, and how can I not get involved? I gotta try.

I tell them, if you're struggling and trying to make it, and you come across a few problems, call me. I've got a 24-hour pager. But if you're screwing up and you're dirty, if I catch you dirty, I'll lock you up.

New kid on the block.

There was this new kid Frankie across the street from where I live. He was 11 or 12, but he had a problem relating to the other kids. He's a loner. He wants friends, but he doesn't know how to relate. He had a habit of teasing them to get attention.

So one day between my shift and court dates, I was trying to sleep for a few hours. About 3:00 p.m. somebody was ringing my doorbell and pounding on the door. A kid is yelling, "It's Louie, it's Louie, the police are going to take him away!"

I throw on my shoes and go outside. Now this is one of my boys. A lot of them are starting to call me dad. Here's this kid in the back of a squad car, handcuffed like he just murdered somebody. I saw the mother of this kid Frankie making a complaint to the police. I asked what was going on, and it turned out that Frankie had been bothering this kid all week and finally Louie hit him. So the mother didn't realize that Frankie was a little pain in the butt. I talked to the mother, and ended up reprimanding both of the kids. I told Louie that if he had a problem with this kid, to tell his mother or to come to me. Hitting him was only going to make it worse. So we settled it right there, and the kids get along now.

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I'm a mediator, if I can be. I've seen so much human suffering that I'm not afraid to step on toes or be visible. Even if it has meant being passed up for promotion. It's starting to get very frustrating. The commander doesn't like the fact that I'm starting to get very popular around here. We have bucked heads and he's lost. On more than one occasion.

But I'm the best cop I can be, and I'm proud to say that. I attribute my success to a really good piece of advice I got from an old-timer. He said, "Carlos, whatever you do, don't hang out in coppers' bars, and don't make all your friends cops." He was saying that coppers get very cynical. Cold and hard. Sometimes that's the way you should be. But it can be a hazard of the job. Flexibility is the key. There's times to be cold and there's times to be sensitive.

Tragedy and joy.

There was this time I was first man up the stairs on this drug bust. The door opens, and the guy comes out with a knife. The cops behind me shot him, and killed him. I had to go to the hospital and tell his parents. I said, if there's anything I can do, ever, please call me. I gave them my card, and when his mother saw my name, she burst into tears. She had baby-sat me when I was a kid. Imagine that. Her husband was a man who came over with my father.

I got an emergency call once and got to an apartment where the woman was in heavy labor. The baby was crowning—in fact, the head was partially out. We had some superficial training, but it was too late to wait for the paramedics. I washed my hands and got some towels. The contractions were coming, and as the baby came out into my hands, I said, you have a...beautiful...baby...girl! This was the most joyous moment of my career. After all, that's what it's all about. Life. ■ Cary Neil Cohen writes for the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Chicago Reader* and is a columnist on a community newspaper in the Humboldt Park neighborhood.

SYLVIA

By Nicole Hollander



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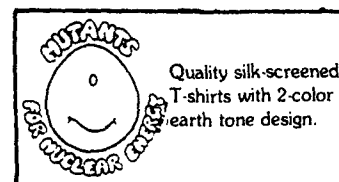
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By Cary Neil Cohen

He's a cop—police officer, patrol division. No fancy title. No fancy gold braid on the blue uniform he dons for the midnight shift. But Carlos Aulet is not your average cop on the beat. He has chosen the Latin youth gangs of Chicago's tough Humboldt Park neighborhood as his personal crusade. Many scoff at him, saying these kids are lost causes—hopeless cases. But he doesn't believe them.

Carlos Aulet

talks about
his life as a
Chicago cop.

AULET

“I was born and raised in Chicago. My parents were among the first migrants from Puerto Rico to the United States. I was born in Chicago in 1949. I grew up at least 25 years in the Humboldt Park area. I went to Orr High School, and after that Morton College, Loop College, and I got my B.A. in Latin American history from Governors State. I decided to become a cop just prior to getting out of the Marine Corps in 1972. I

Continued on page 15